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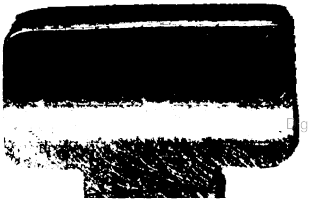

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The Modern Man and His Fellow Man

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THE MODERN MAN AND HIS FELLOW MAN

BEING

THE WILLIAM L. BULL LECTURES

FOR THE YEAR 1902

BY

HENRY CODMAN POTTER, D. D., LL. D.,

BISHOP OF NEW YORK

PRINTED
FOR THE COMMITTEE BY
GEORGE W. JACOBS & CO.
PHILADELPHIA

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HD8072
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Copyright, 1903,
By George W. Jacobs & Co.
Published, April, 1903.

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THE LETTER ESTABLISHING THE LECTURESHIP

For many years, it has been my earnest desire to found a Lectureship on Christian Sociology, meaning thereby the application of Christian principles to the Social, Industrial, and Economic problems of the time, in my Alma Mater, the Philadelphia Divinity School. My object in founding this Lectureship is to secure the free, frank, and full consideration of these subjects, with special reference to the Christian aspects of the questions involved, which have heretofore, in my opinion, been too much neglected in such discussion. It would seem that the time is now ripe and the moment an auspicious one for the establishment of this Lectureship, at least tentatively.

I therefore make the following offer, to continue for at least a period of three years, with the hope that these lectures may excite such an interest, particularly among the undergraduates of the Divinity School, that I shall be justified, with the approval of the authorities of the Divinity School, in placing the Lectureship on a more permanent foundation.

I herewith pledge myself to contribute the sum of six hundred dollars annually, for a period of three years, to the payment of a lecturer on Christian Sociology, whose duty it shall be to deliver a course of not less than four lectures to the students of the Divinity School, either at the School or elsewhere, as may be deemed most advisable, on the application of Christian principles to the Social, Industrial, and Economic problems and needs of the times; the said lecturer to be appointed annually by a committee of five members: the Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; the Dean of the Divinity School; a member of the Board of Overseers; and two of the Associate Alumni, one of whom shall be chosen by the Alumni Association, and the other to be myself.

Furthermore, if it shall be deemed desirable that the lectures shall be published, I pledge myself to the additional payment of from one to two hundred dollars for such purpose.

To secure a full, frank, and free consideration of the ques-

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tions involved, it is my desire that the opportunity shall be given from time to time to the representatives of each school of economic thought to express their views in these lectures.

The only restriction I wish placed on the lecturer is that he shall be a believer in the moral teachings and principles of the Christian Religion as the true solvent of our Social, Industrial, and Economic problems. Of course, it is my intention that a new lecturer shall be appointed by the Committee each year, who shall deliver the course of lectures for the ensuing year.

WILLIAM L. BULL.

All Saints' Cathedral,
Spokane, Washington,
January 1, 1901.

The Committee:
- O. W. WHITAKER, *Bishop of Pennsylvania.*
- WILLIAM M. GROTON, *Dean of the Divinity School.*
- J. DEWOLF PERRY,
- LYMAN P. POWELL,
- WILLIAM L. BULL.

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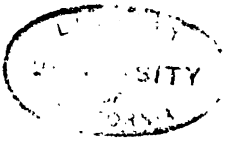

INTRODUCTION

THIS volume contains lectures delivered to the students of the Philadelphia Divinity School, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, on the evenings respectively of January 21st, 23d, 28th, and 30th, on the Bull Foundation.

This Foundation was created by gift of the Rev. William L. Bull, an alumnus of the Philadelphia Divinity School, and at present General Missionary at Spokane, Washington, in a letter addressed to the Right Reverend O. W. Whitaker, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, and President of the Board of Trustees of the Philadelphia Divinity School. In referring to the creation of this Foundation, I introduced the lectures in the words following:

"It is an augury for good in the history of a Theological School when, as by the wise beneficence of the Founder of this Course of Lectures, provision is made for the discussion of those questions which, to quote his own language, involve 'the application of Christian principles

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to the Social, Industrial, and Economic Problems and needs of the time.' So far as I am aware, the provision for such discussion in any of our American Theological Schools is very limited, and, so far as our own Schools are concerned, it has not hitherto existed at all.

The reasons for this are not far to seek, and it must be owned that they have a certain force. It is urged that such knowledge as may be afforded to a theological student, through the study of Social Economics, can best be obtained in other than Schools of Divinity. It is further urged that, to introduce Courses of Lectures upon purely sociological questions into Theological Schools, is to yield to a secular tendency already too influential in our modern life, and especially to be deprecated in connection with the training of men for the Holy Ministry. And, finally, it is suggested that, in connection with a subject concerning which, generally, it may be said that the principles which are to govern it are as yet largely indeterminate, its discussion may wisely be left to a time not yet arrived, when fixed *data* and final conclusions shall give to the whole a clear and definite foundation.

In answer to these objections, it would seem, however, to be enough to urge one or two con-

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siderations which may safely be described as almost universally admitted. If it is said, *e. g.*, that Social Economics, as a branch of Study, belong properly to the College or the University, the obvious answer may be, not only that this is true, and that their pursuit might wisely engross the exclusive attention of any student; but also that some general knowledge, at least, of their first principles, like those of history or of philosophy, belongs pre-eminently to the training of men who are to be put in trust of a Message which concerns not only the duty of man to God but the duty of man to his Neighbor.

Or, if again it is urged that the introduction into the *curriculum* of a Theological School, of Courses of Lectures upon other than purely theological subjects, is a surrender to a secular tendency already threatening sacred things and themes, the answer must surely be that a wise resistance to any such tendency, so far as it exists, will be marked not alone by firmness in the defense of that which is sacred, but no less by a wise discrimination as to what is not sacred. If Religion is menaced by one vicious tendency more than another, it is by that unintelligent *aloofness* which is of the very essence of the spirit of Phariseeism, which makes it the

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servile disciple of a theory of *caste,* and the intolerant or indifferent illustration of a temper of unsympathetic exclusiveness. The Church has been forever too fond of calling that 'common or unclean, which God hath not called common or unclean;' and the lesson which by Voice and Vision was administered to St. Peter greatly needs to be repeated to it in these latter times.

And if, finally, it is urged that the subject here proposed for our discussion is as yet too vague and indeterminate;—if it is said, as indeed it may with truth be said, that some of its foremost masters are not yet agreed even as to its terminology, and much less as to its principles, it may justly be answered, I think, that such vagueness must needs cohere with the discussions of all great questions which are, so to speak, *in transitu;* and that, meantime, it is especially the office of those who claim to be in possession of the highest truth, and of that light which is at once the clearest and divinest, at least to try to comprehend it. One must needs sympathize with that apprehension which would hold back the Church, in times of social unrest, from rashly committing itself to theories or methods that are iconoclastic or revolutionary; and in this direction there has un-

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doubtedly been a recklessness of speech and of action betraying equal ignorance of the great principles of Social Economy, and indifference to the unchanging requirements of justice and equity. But alas, the errors of the Church, through the long ages, have not been chiefly in that direction or of that nature. Too often, like Achan,[1] it has been more concerned about secreting and retaining 'the wedge of gold, and the goodly Babylonish mantle and the two hundred shekels of silver,' than it has been in purging itself of dishonest gains, and, in the strength of a cheerful self-sacrifice, pushing forward the battles of the Lord for His poor. In a word, the questions with which these Lectures are to be concerned, are questions which a Christian Minister cannot ignore if he would, and ought not if he could. They are questions which touch alike the springs of all human conduct, and the foundations of all human society. To separate Religion from them is to make of it a ghost, impotent to teach or to transform, and competent only to terrify or to degrade. And to separate *them* from Religion is to relegate society to the reign of barbarism, and man to the life of the beast. Over all our human inter-

[1] Joshua vii: 16-23.

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ests, concerns, enterprises, fellowships, and antagonisms, alike, there forever broods the Divine Spirit, waiting to enter into and redeem and ennoble them. No part of them can rightly be outside the sphere of His divine influence; and their office, it must forever be who are teachers of Religion and witnesses for God, to make plain to their fellow men, that so far from the principles of a true sociology—of a true philosophy of the constitution and mutual obligations of a human Society—being remote from the province and office of religion, it is through these alone that they are to find their enduring basis and their unerring interpretation."

HENRY C. POTTER.

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THE SITUATION

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I

THE SITUATION

IT will be well for us, before undertaking to deal with the great questions which have arisen in connection with the subject we are to consider in these Lectures, to discover, if we may, the causes and processes which have been influential in creating what may best be described as the present situation. The evolution of human society is one of the most fascinating studies that can invite the scholar; and in no department of critical inquiry is the operation of great and inexorable and, on the whole beneficent laws more manifest. Within the limits prescribed for me here, any review of this evolution must needs be restricted and partial; but, happily, it is a case in which such a partial review will sufficiently answer our purpose as indicative of a law that has widely and persistently operated. And, as furnishing to us at the outset a definite point of departure,

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let us recall for a moment the birth of Latin civilization.

The growth of the Roman Empire was a growth based upon the development of law and of visible authority. Human society in Egypt, Greece, and Persia had long before begun to advance beyond the patriarchal stage, and to gravitate toward the transformation and centralization of power into various forms of monarchical government. But it remained for Rome to take these various forms of local sovereignty and authority, and co-ordinate and consolidate them in the empire. That there was here a higher conception of law than that which theretofore the civilized world had known, the incomparable code of Justinian still survives to bear witness. But behind the law was the army; and the army—the Roman centurion and his like—was, to the average mind of that era of the world's history, the visible expression of its organized life, and of the final law of its being. What, however, did the army stand for but, supremely, the idea of discipline; and what in turn did discipline stand for but that a man's lot in life was fixed, and that, in the exercise of his individual faculties and powers, he was himself to be con-

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tented with the conditions into which he was born, and the tasks to which he was set. Slave or sovereign, priest or peasant, he was, after all, simply part of a vast system which assigned to him his task, defined its limits, and determined its rewards.[1] Might was "in the saddle," and men were governed by the will of the strongest. The king, the priest, the master, was firmly established at the top; the serf, the peasant, the apprentice, was firmly fastened at the bottom. It was, to use one of Carlyle's expressive phrases, the "brass collar period."[2]

How odious such a phrase sounds to a modern ear! And yet it needs only a little reflection to remind us that it may easily have stood for an age of considerable privilege and happiness. For it must always be remembered, when we are comparing such times with our own, that servitude, in whatever form, whether military, ecclesiastical, or civil, brought with it considerable immunities, back toward which, in freer ages, people of larger freedoms and more absolute personal liberty might easily look with longing and regret. Neither the serf nor the soldier had any least concern about

[1] "Introduction to Social Philosophy," J. S. Mackenzie, p. 74.
[2] Carlyle, "Past and Present."

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his daily bread. That, the order under which each toiled or served was bound, of necessity, to provide. As little was either concerned for his physical protection and well-being. To care for that, every selfish interest, if not any humane instinct, pledged those whose safety and prosperity rested, finally, very largely on the soldiers' or the serfs' efficient service. They were free from care for the present or anxiety for the future; and it is doubtful whether the average of human happiness among them was not often as high as, if not sometimes higher than, that of the average life of the toiler or artisan in the foul and overcrowded homes of the poor in our great cities to-day. The uncertainties of the wage-earner; the fierce strife for bread of the modern miner or agricultural laborer,—these were miseries out of which what we call militarism, whether in the state or in the church,—and its spirit existed with equal absolutism in both,—substantially delivered those who for centuries so widely, if not always contentedly, rested under it.

Not always contentedly, however; for the time came, as inevitably it was destined to come, when the age of authority paled and

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waned before the dawn of that era which historians have described by many names; assigned, so far as its organic beginnings were concerned, to more than one period in the progress of civilization; and accounted for sometimes by opposite if not contradictory forces. It is enough for our purpose to remind ourselves that the time came when the slave no longer rested content with being a slave; and when the declaration of Rousseau that "man is born free, and yet everywhere is in chains" had its various foreshadowings in the strife of the barons, with King John; in the dawn of that great intellectual movement known as the Renaissance; and in the beginnings of that age of criticism when captains and kings "and everything that claimed authority over men had to be weighed in the balance of human reason—with a certain *a priori* conviction that they were sure to be found wanting."[1]

Now at this point it may be asked what has all this to do with the questions which we are considering here,—those questions, I mean, of economic adjustment which you and I believe to be fundamental to the obligations of the citizen and to the constitution or the reconstitution

[1] "Introduction to Social Philosophy," J. S. Mackenzie, p. 74.

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of our social order. A moment or two of reflection will, I think, make this clear to us. What was it which followed from the decay of the age of militarism, and the dawn of the age of criticism? Plainly this; that, as corporate authority declined in power, the intelligence and will and energy of the individual roused themselves to take its place. The student of mediæval history will remember the phrase "One God, one Pope, one Emperor." Hegel, in his "Philosophy of History," has shown us how vain an ideal it was; but its impotence was not disclosed until the dawn of the Reformation. With the more distinctly religious aspect of that great movement we are not now called upon to concern ourselves. That which is germane to this discussion is that view of it in which it stands revealed as the disclosure of a new social force. The right of private judgment involved, of necessity, more than the right to judge in religious matters. Inevitably there went with it the right to judge in political and social matters. In a word, the spectre of authority, august, imposing, hitherto constraining and terrifying, faded before the dawn of a day when men looked their fellow-men resolutely in the face; claimed their freedom not alone to think, but to choose

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and to act; broke away from the old subordinations in which they had been so long held in subjection; asserted their right to shape their own lives, to choose their own callings; to combine upon their own terms;—and a new age was born!

And thus we are brought to the threshold of that era which is distinctively our own, and which may be called the industrial era. First the era of militarism; then the era of freedom; and then, as some think, by a strange paradox, arising out of it, the age in which you and I are living, and which many men think is least of all an age of freedom. And yet the steps by which it has been reached are intelligible, and were inevitable. Out of the older and more benumbing order of a society in which each individual was held fast to the caste, the trade, the calling to which he had been born, there arose an age in which freedom gave at last to the individual his best chance. The lowliest might, if he would and could, climb to the place of the highest. The barber's apprentice in England, seated at last upon the Woolsack and dispensing law for an empire, became the type and image of what any man with equal gifts and courage and industry might achieve. There

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were no longer any fixed and impenetrable ranks and classes.

Do you not see what inevitably came out of it? If you and I are no longer to be held in bondage to a chief, a lord, a sovereign, then not only are we free to choose our own callings in life, but to choose the same callings, and to strive, side by side, for superiority or success in them. And the wider the opportunities, the richer the rewards, the more numerous the contestants, the fiercer the strife becomes, and so you have the age of competition. In commerce, in manufactures, in the mechanic arts, nothing is more dramatic than the history of this universal rivalry. The two American clipper ships racing fifty years ago, from China across the Pacific to see which should first land their cargoes in the harbor of New York, are a picture of all the rest. The inventions of one mechanical genius are quickly eclipsed by those of another; and the tool of yesterday, so clever, so original, and so indispensable yesterday, is made swiftly worthless by the invention of today.

Your minds must surely have outrun my own in anticipating what has been the next great step in the history of our social progress—or

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social decadence, as some have been disposed to call it. For, no sooner had the world's workmen won their freedom than they have seemed, to many thoughtful observers, in danger of losing it. There is a curious significance just here in the relation of one single discovery or movement to the whole situation,—I mean the invention of printing. The dawn of the Reformation —of the great era of intellectual and moral freedom—was coincident, substantially, with the age and achievement of Gutenberg. In a night, as it were, it became possible almost indefinitely to widen the area of the world's knowledge by the agency of a single invention, the printing-press. But the printing-press, after all, was a machine, not a man; and as machinery went on becoming more complex, more competent, I had almost said more omnipotent, the individual sank, increasingly, in significance and value. And all the while, the grasp of commerce and the industrial arts grew wider and more omnivorous; and the fierce struggle to meet the growing demands of huge competitive industries more remorseles and exacting. It was inevitable that such a warfare should produce its present results. The limitations of individual capital, the uncertainties of individual enter-

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prise, the enormous wastefulness of unregulated competition, crippled, disheartened, and oftener than otherwise, impoverished those who engaged in them. And then, naturally and obviously, there dawned the era, first of combinations of capital, and then of combinations of labor. Whichever preceded the other,—and it is not necessary to our purpose here to answer that question,—one simply could not be without the other. If capitalists combined to economize the cost of production, the laborer must combine to protect himself against such applications of that economy as, to him, would be remorseless or fatal. Especially was this the case as the progress of the mechanic arts tended more and more toward the specialization of labor. It mattered little, comparatively, to a workman, when he was, *e. g.*, a mechanic making a whole thing, whether he found employment in the manufacture of that particular thing or of something else; for the knowledge and aptitudes which he had acquired in mastering his particular craft or art, even though directed ordinarily toward the making of a single thing, had given him deftness and facility sufficient to enable him to turn his industrial activity in half a dozen different directions. But as

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machinery went on usurping, one after another, the various earlier handicrafts, the relation of the individual workman came to be at once increasingly narrow and mechanicalized. Imagine the contrast between Quintin Matsys at Antwerp, forging and moulding and hammering out the exquisite constructions in wrought iron that some of us have seen in the old world; and a modern workman whose solitary task in some huge establishment from morning till night, day in and day out, consists in turning a single strip of iron back and forth as he presses it between a mammoth pair of shears! What is such a man worth when, dismissed from such a task, he is bidden to find another—having, it may be, no slightest resemblance to it—or starve? The only alternative for such a wretched being—and it belongs to you and me to remember that there are millions of them—is in some such form of industrial combination as shall bind together him and his fellow-workmen in a common fellowship for mutual protection.

Now, it is with the consequence of such a situation that you and I, and especially those of us who by our calling and office stand for those forces and influences which are ordained

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to be the mightiest and most beneficent in human affairs, are directly concerned. The first and most grave consequence of such a condition of our social forces as I have indicated is its tendency toward mutual alienation. It is almost impossible for people of our own era to conceive of those social conditions which our own much-vaunted civilization has displaced. It is undoubtedly true that the individual, in those classes and callings which are at the bottom of the social scale, has to-day much more of a certain kind of freedom; but it is scarcely less certain that he has much less, so far as those above him are concerned, of any kind of personal consideration. The ages, military, mediæval, whatever they were that succeeded the patriarchal ages, dismissed out of their common life a great deal that was primitive and elementary; but there survived features of the earlier family life which to have lost, as we have certainly and I fear irreparably lost them, is to have sustained a deprivation, I had almost said depravation, which is incalculable. When the serf and the master, the apprentice and his employer, the clerk and the shopkeeper, slept under the same roof; ate, often, at the same table; and daily touched each other's lives in countless

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ways, it was inevitable that there should have existed not only a community of interests, but a community of *interest,* of sympathy, of mutual understanding and appreciation, which the modern conditions of labor and its employment have banished utterly. There were trades-unions, then: the mediæval guilds were simply trades-unions under a different name;[1] but they were trades-unions of a wider scope, because master and workman were organized in the same union with a common interest, not in hostile unions with conflicting interests.

And out of this have issued, by the working of an inexorable law, the elements of a still graver situation. It is not alone that the workman in a particular mill or mine or factory has come, frequently, to stand in antagonistic relations to his own employer, or to that huge officialism that contracts with him,—for too often it is the case that there is no individual employer, but only some salaried functionary who holds his place and draws his pay only so long as he rules with a stiff hand and holds a tight rein. Out of our present situation it has come about that there has been begotten a sullen class

[1] See, *passim*, "Trades-Unionism, New and Old," George Howells.

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hatred which is quite as acute here in our own republic as under the most despotic forms of government; and whose menace threatens not only the relations which bind together certain industrial interests, but the whole social fabric. Many of us are so far from the literature of this particular mental attitude that we are largely ignorant of its animus; but the very latest socialistic organization of which I have seen an authentic report, holding its meetings in the chief city of the country, and having under consideration the questions of an enunciation of principles and the choice of fit candidates for office, declares itself equally indifferent to either of them, and affirms that it has but one aim and object before it, and that, that which is expressed in the battle-cry "Down with Capital!"[1]

That such is the animus, at any rate, of modern socialism only those who have not taken the trouble to follow its history can be ignorant. Not original here, in its organized form, it has reproduced on this side of the Atlantic the most radical and destructive principles of those who were its founders and disciples on the other.

[1] Declaration made at a socialistic meeting in New York, in July, 1901.

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Undoubtedly the crude and vague terms "socialism" and "socialist" need definition; and a fundamental qualification, as I shall presently indicate more in detail, is implied in the terms "Christian socialist" and "Christian socialism," which are claimed and used by men of devout character and the highest aims. But, in its broader sense, the secular socialism of the old world and the new are one. There could not well be any more precise definition of its principles than the familiar formula, long used by its disciples to define its objects, "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange." So far as the matter of any connection with anarchism is concerned, the relation of the modern socialistic movement must in all probability remain a disputed question. No efforts to condemn anarchistic methods in socialistic assemblages have met with marked success, while, on the other hand, Dr. and Mrs. Aveling, leading socialistic authorities, have declared that "well-nigh every word spoken by the chief defendants of the Chicago trial of Parsons could be endorsed by socialists, for they preached not anarchism but socialism. Indeed, he that will compare," they say, "the fine speech of Parsons (the anar-

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chist) in 1886, with that of Liebknecht at the high-treason trial at Leipzig, will find the two practically identical."[1] "Communist anarchists," says Mr. Geoffrey Drage, whose most able work on the "Labor Problem" I would commend to the attention of every serious student of social and economic questions,—"communist anarchists adhere to the economic doctrines taught by Karl Marx, and maintain that human progress lies in the direction of the 'socialization of wealth and integrated labor.'" They, like the revolutionary socialists, are most bitter in their attacks on the present system of society, though when the former at times justify the "propaganda of deed," the socialists are inclined to draw the line at the "propaganda of word." In an article on "Anarchism and Outrage," reprinted from the anarchist journal "Freedom," anarchists are referred to as "propagandists of socialism who will have none of parliamentary elections." Anarchists of this type are also at one with the socialists in their demand for common ownership of property and a system of common production, but they are more socialistic than the socialists in that they main-

[1] "The Working Class Movement in America," Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

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tain that a system of common production must, of necessity, lead to a system of common consumption. "Apart from the question of a future government, anarchism," says Mr. E. Belford Bax, in the "Religion of Socialism," "may be said to be but an extreme phase of socialism." A further similarity can be traced between the views with regard to human nature which underlie both the socialistic and anarchistic theories. Whether explicitly or only implicitly, the socialists appear to hold that the development of character is dependent mainly on external circumstances. In the preface to his "Religion of Socialism" Belford Bax states: "The bourgois moralist is never tired of preaching the reform of the individual character as the first condition of human happiness, ignoring the fact that science knows of no such thing as an individual character, apart from social surroundings. He holds fast to the old fallacious standpoint, according to which individual good men make healthy social conditions, rather than acknowledge the truth that it is healthy social conditions that make good men." [1]

There could not, on the whole, be a more intelligible and explicit definition of socialism

[1] "The Labor Problem," Geoffrey Drage, pp. 348-349.

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than this, and it ought not to be surprising therefore that it has so often passed on into those extreme forms of a godless atheism to which I have already referred. "It behooves us," says one of their recent exponents, "to redouble, then, our efforts to free the world not only from the superstition of capitalism and authority, but also from the superstition of religion and a belief in God. For man will never be free until he has rid his mind of this God-idea, the invention of the lying priests. Socialism, in the future, must go forward side by side with atheism, for the socialism which is not atheistic is inconsistent and illogical." Bakounin, in his work "God and the State," has laid down the law with such clearness that there is no possible evasion of the issue for those who are truly socialists. "The idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice: it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of all mankind. . . . If God is, man is a slave; now man can and must be free; then God does not exist. I defy any one whomsoever," says this author, "to avoid this circle; now, therefore, let all choose." [1]

[1] Letter in the "Commonweal," Sept. 30, 1893.

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I do not need to remind those to whom I am speaking that there is a very different kind of socialism, having indeed, substantially, the same ends in view, but resting its endeavors upon a very different basis, and inspired by a very different spirit. If the modern socialist movement rose with Robert Owen in 1817, "when Owen laid his scheme for the establishment of a socialistic community before a parliamentary committee appointed to enquire into the poor law,"[1] it owed its greatest impulse to the labors of such men as Frederick Dennison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, Ludlow, Vansittart, Neale, and their like, who touched a dark and perplexing problem with the transforming word of Christian self-sacrifice. From these great teachers came the best in some of our more modern teachers, Robertson, Bushnell, Westcott, and their like, who brought to the miseries, the maladjustments, the socio-industrial hardships and injustices of our modern life, a vision so clear, a touch so tender, and a scrutiny so patient and penetrating, that, step by step, up out of the caverns of despair in which some of the horrors of our nineteenth-century industrialism had

[1] "The Labor Problem," Appendix I.

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plunged them, multitudes of all but despairing souls climbed upward toward the light.

And the reason for this was that these men and those who came after them turned upon the perplexing problems of our social disorders the light of a divine life. For centuries the church had been getting farther and farther away from the people, understanding them less, seeing them less, loving them less. For well-nigh a thousand years religion stood in the popular mind only for a colossal and portentous menace on the one hand, and for splendid ceremonial and a grasping company of official ceremonialists on the other. And then at last, the Bible, with its strange and unfamiliar message, broke on the ears of the people, and slowly filtered down into the popular consciousness, as the revelation of a new and divine social order, here and to-day.

There are still ecclesiastics, even among ourselves, who do not believe anything of the sort. There are still devout men, and they in holy orders, who believe that my presence here, and yours as listeners to anything that I may say, is a grave misuse, if not a dangerous perversion, of spiritual office and function. There are still men and women, everywhere, who call

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themselves religious, who do not hesitate to maintain that religion has nothing whatever to do with the social conditions of human life, unless it be to teach men to look forward to an existence when they and their fellows shall be delivered from them; and, meanwhile, to cultivate such patience and resignation as they may. And since this is so you and I must first of all be able, in the face of all that confronts us in these problems, social, economic, and industrial, to show that religion has some warrant for being concerned with them, and that, in the great task of their solution, we may not, must not, withhold our hands. To what, now, does such a challenge send us if not to the feet of Jesus Christ? He is our Master, and we are His pupils. Has He spoken on these questions? Does the story of His life and teaching give us any warrant for concerning ourselves with them? He came to be the founder of a new religion: does it give us laws and principles for this world and life, or only for another? To these questions there are, I submit, explicit and definite answers; not always, it may be, in the form of precepts, but always and everywhere, from the beginning to the end of the earthly ministry of Jesus, by the illustration or enun-

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ciation of infallible and universally applicable principles, which he who runs may read, and which touch the whole circumference of man's daily life. I would not forget, just here, and I would not have others forget, that wise caution of a discerning teacher of our own time[1] who has reminded us that "Nothing is easier for the brain fertile in generalities, and for the heart burning with sympathy and indignation, than to evolve a system from a sentence or a term. In this particular, Christian Sociology is re-running the career of Christian Theology. As the dogmatic theologian has, too often, made a system of philosophy masquerade as a theology by dressing it out with a series of more or less well-fitting proof-texts, so, too often, modern prophets to a degenerate church, in sublime indifference to the context, time of authorship, and purpose of a New Testament book, and with an equal neglect of the personal peculiarity and vocabulary of a New Testament writer, have set forth, as the word of Christianity, views which are but bescriptured social denunciation and vehemence. But, on the other hand, it is no less to be remembered that the

[1] Professor Shailer Matthews, "The Social Teaching of Jesus," p. 7 *et seq.*

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student of Occidental civilization who disregards the teachings of Jesus is as unscientific as he who, in the history of philosophy should neglect Plato or Kant; or, in the history of the United States, should disregard the Constitution. No man's teaching has equalled His in the magnitude of its social results."[1]

What was His teaching? Is it true that it had relation only to another world, and to the conditions on which men were to reach it? Is it true that He came to tell men to despair of humanity, of society, of the life that now is, and the tasks that are, and the triumphs that may be, here? Then, certainly, when His disciples went to Him saying, "Lord teach us how to pray," He taught them after a most misleading fashion. For what he taught them was this: *Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven.* Do you grasp the wide reach, the large meaning, the explicit foreshadowing of these words? "Our Father." Then the relation binding man to God was a filial relation, and the relation of men to one another was a fraternal relation; for it is at your peril that you change the first word of the prayer to

[1] Ibid., p. 9.

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"*my* Father." "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done *on earth, As it is in heaven.*" Then the kingdom of God is not a supernal realization in some distant realm or stage of being, but one which has its place in this realm and in our stage of being. On the earth as it is done in heaven cannot mean that the kingdom of God is an unrealizable thing for humanity in this world, and with our ennobled powers and faculties, or else the words that bid us pray for it are a grotesque and monstrous mockery. And so, at the very outset of an inquiry as to the social teaching of Jesus Christ, we discover that He came with a message to man *as he is*,—nay, to *men* as *they* are,—in their solitary personalities, first of all, but no less surely in those complex relations which they bore, and bear, to one another as parents and children, teachers and pupils, masters and servants, hirer and hired; and so on, all through the various realms of life.

And all this is made overwhelmingly plain not only by Christ's teachings but by His life. Not alone do sermon and parable alike draw their imagery from the homeliest aspects of daily life; the sower and the reaper in the field, the steward of an estate, the laborers in the vineyard, the traveller by the wayside: but His

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own steps moved close all the while to these things; never separating or isolating Him from them; touched by, and touching, the lowliest humanity, all along, and forever emphasizing the fact that the Fatherhood of God had no meaning as a principle of action unless it issued forever in the service and sacrifice that affirm the brotherhood of man.

This, then, is the message, these are the truths, with which we are charged. If they are not a part of the religion of Jesus Christ, then, verily, His religion has somehow become something else than He revealed, or His life and death proclaimed. And that—is it not time that we owned it frankly?—is the shame, too often, of its history among men. It is but a little while after their Master has ascended into heaven that we see the followers and successors of those whom He left to plant His truth among men, borrowing from the most powerful, but, alas! the most corrupt, empire that was contemporaneous with its birth, every note of splendor, every fierce lust of power, every implacable animosity toward those who challenged its authority, that had distinguished and disfigured the history of the empire that it supplanted. The world-spirit speedily came to be too strong for

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the Christ-spirit; and the divine society which Jesus Christ instituted, wherewith to efface the harsh and rigid distinctions that had divided men, was made the instrument of reviving and emphasizing those distinctions. True it is that that great spiritual uprising in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to which I have already referred, found its beginnings in a wide and gracious return to primitive simplicity, and to the great doctrine of the common brotherhood of man; but secular forces since then, and, more than all, the secular spirit in those who claimed to have been raised above it, have too often renounced and disowned that oneness in Christian kinship and interest which they still loudly professed.

It is such facts to-day, believe me, that are the chief obstacles to the progress of the kingdom of God in the world. That they who profess to be the disciples of that kingdom and the followers of the carpenter of Nazareth do not honestly accept His teaching, and have no serious purpose even to attempt to live His life,—this is a conviction which, however mistaken, is by great multitudes of people honestly held and widely shared. If it be so, the question which challenges us to-day is one which cannot be

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evaded or postponed. What we ought to do, and what we can do, to disabuse embittered minds, and to win and enlighten those others who, to-day, are only ignorant or apathetic, is the most pressing demand upon clergy and laity alike. I sympathize with those among us who, in such an emergency as this, are repelled by the extravagance of religious teachers who, having cast their lot with the advocates of social reform, have accepted social theories as the basis of a regeneration of society which in truth but exchange one set of errors for another. "The main plank in the platform of the Christian socialist," says a recent apostle[1] of what may not unjustly be described as a "decorated communism," "the chief political reform at which he aims, being bound by his creed to go to the very heart of the matter, to be content with no tinkering, is the restoration of the land to the people. We Christian socialists maintain that this is the most far-reaching reform; that it is demanded by justice; and not only that it can be carried out in consistence with the highest morality, but that morality is impossible without it." It is the sweeping character of statements such as these which have had quite as much to do with

[1] The Rev. Stewart Hedlam.

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holding back any effective movement toward the betterment of our modern social conditions as any greed, or apathy, or unscrupulous combinations on the part of those who, in this whole business, most need to be won and persuaded. It cannot be denied that in their indignation in the face of conditions often cruel and degrading, and which involve in their misery large masses of their fellow-men, not a few earnest minds, and of these especially many ministers of Christ's religion, have not only hastened to social conclusions which have at once betrayed their large ignorance of economic facts and of fundamental ethical principles, but have also lent themselves to a propagandism of half-truths and a reckless employment of destructive or disorderly measures that are alike violations of essential equity and denials of the mind of Christ. From these iconoclasts of an existing order, and these destroyers of the social fabric, we turn in vain to Jesus to find for their acts, in any single word or deed of His, either vindication or excuse.

And therefore your duty and mine, in a situation such as this, is a very plain one.

The questions which to-day challenge the attention of all thoughtful people as those with

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which the future of the church, the family, and the republic are bound up, are, first of all, moral and not at all alone economic, or industrial, or scientific questions. As such, the citizen has a clear duty with regard to them which cannot be evaded or refused, and that duty is, first of all, to understand them. Next to the danger of apathy in great moral questions is the danger of mere emotionalism, sentimentalism, sensationalism—passions often aroused with an awakening sense of injustice, cruelty, indifference, or greed. And these are the impulses to which much of our modern agitation in connection with socio-economic questions is apt to appeal. It is because of these that earnest and high-purposed men who have felt themselves constrained to respond to appeals made to them in His Name, have too often forgotten that He came to be the founder of a kingdom which should be based upon the truth,—not a fragment of it, a one-sided view of it, a perverted exaggeration of it, but the whole of it; and that, since this is so, and since in a candid recognition of it there is the only hope of unifying the warring forces of this world, and bringing them into subjection to the mind that was and is in Him, injustice to the rich, or the powerful, or the most favored, is as

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fatal to the progress of that truth as injustice to the poor or the least favored; and that therefore denunciations of wealth or rank, or personal or social inequalities, are as remote from His teachings as denunciations of poverty or lowliness or ignorance. Christ did not denounce wealth any more than He denounced pauperism. He did not abhor money: He used it. He did not abhor the company of rich men: He sought it. He did not invariably scorn or even resent a certain profuseness of expenditure. With a fine discrimination, He, while habitually discouraging it, yet recognized that, here and there, there was a place for it. What He denounced was the *love* of wealth; the *lust* of riches; the vulgar snobbishness that chose exclusively the fellowship or the ways of rich men; the habit of extravagance; in one word, greed and luxury and self-indulgence. He taught men, first of all, and last of all, that they were stewards; that in the final analysis of men and things neither they nor theirs were their own. He frankly recognized and freely utilized the eternal fact—not to be altered or effaced by culture, by socio-economic legislation, or by bombastic pronunciamento—that all men are *not* born "free and equal;" that there are diversities of gifts, of talents, of oppor-

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tunities; and that so long as our human society exists, these will exist with it. But He no sooner recognized this than He disclosed the office of His religion with reference to it. That was not to exaggerate or emphasize these inequalities, but to minimize them; to introduce into human society, in one word, that great principle of brotherhood, in and through a divine Fatherhood, which should take from them their sting, and transform them, always and everywhere, into divinest opportunities for divinest service and sacrifice.

And here, therefore, is to-day the calling of the citizens who recognizes moral obligations as the basis of all good citizenship. Over against that rising tide of passionate exaggeration, of sometimes not very scrupulous self-seeking, as incarnated in the politician, the selfish and sensational labor leader on the one hand, and on the other, the employer, the capitalist, the *entrepreneur,* which, by many disappointments in dealing with labor organizations has been hardened into a dull and embittered obstinacy and animosity against the whole brood of unions and agitators, they must stand who would do justly and love mercy, and work righteously for their fellow-men, as the true disciples of civic

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duty, first seeking to understand the large problems with which they are called to deal, and then to illustrate the principles which can alone effect their solution. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord," might wisely be written over the door of every bank, every factory, every labor hall, and every mine, in this land. The failure of schemes of mere coercion, whether on the one hand or the other, whether by the organizations of capital or the organizations of labor, is the ever recurring lesson of our modern life.

There is another and a better way. Be it ours to strive to learn it. And that we may help one another to do so, I shall, God willing, speak hereafter of the relations and duties of the citizen as Working Man, as Capitalist, and as Consumer.

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THE WORKING MAN

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II

THE WORKING MAN

THE aim of these lectures, as I have already endeavored to make plain, is, if I may, to enlarge a little the horizon of our conception of citizenship. It is easy to limit this; and still easier, I apprehend, to *localize* it. There is, in other words, what perhaps I may venture to call a Judaic tendency in the human mind to limit our responsibilities to our own class, our own town, our own race or religion. And it ought to be the office of the seminary to correct this; and, in connection, *e. g.*, with such a matter as the definition of the modern responsibilities of citizenship, to indicate, if no more, those wider relations which to-day exist, and which cannot exist without bringing responsibilities with them. One of these, especially in the case of the scholar, whose tendency always is to be a little too much withdrawn from his fellow-men, is the relation of the citizen to the working-man.

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But in advancing in this discussion to the question of these relations and to the status and environment of the working-man, as created by our modern social conditions, I am not unmindful of the fact that, by many persons, the designation of any particular class by such a term is regarded as at once misleading and infelicitous. It is urged by these that, as a matter of fact, the vast proportion of the people of any state or community belong to the working classes; and that the enormous enlargement, both of the sphere and the variety of the occupations alike of men and women make it at once superficial and unjustly discriminating to speak of any particular group of persons as distinctively working men or women.

There is, of course, a certain truth in this of which I would by no means wish to lose sight. A working man or woman is one who works; and this or that person who breaks stone, or lays bricks, or rolls iron, or does any other manual labor, is certainly not the only person who works. Much the largest part in its dynamic efficiency, and much the most valuable part in the ultimate productiveness of the world's work, is done by men who never wielded a pick nor drove a nail. And between the two extremes

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of our complex social organism,—between, in other words, the capitalist who plans, the inventor who contrives, the executive who sets in motion, on the one hand, and the mill hand or miner or trackman who toils and delves, on the other, —there is a vast army of men and women who form, perhaps, the majority in our modern social and economic structure, who are neither in the one class nor in the other of these; and yet, whose daily toil, if measured by its hours of various labor, whether of the hand or of the brain, is quite as arduous as either's.

But when this is admitted, as it certainly ought to be, the fact still remains that when we speak of work and the working man, or of labor and the laboring man, there is, ordinarily, attached to the words a meaning at once explicit and circumscribed. "Economic writers, like the world in general, do indeed recognize," says Mr. Mallock,[1] "in an unscientific way, that productive exertion exhibits itself under many various forms; but their admissions and statements with regard to this point are entirely confused and stultified by the almost ludicrous persistence with which they classify all these various forms under the single heading of Labor. John Stuart

[1] "Labor and the Popular Welfare," W. H. Mallock, p. 14.

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Mill, for instance, says that a large part of profits are really wages of the labor of superintendence. He speaks of 'the labor of the invention of industrial processes,' 'the labor of Watt in contriving the steam-engine,' and even of 'the labor of the savant and the speculative thinker.' He employs the same word to describe the effort that invented Arkwright's spinning-frame and the commonest muscular movement of any of the mechanics who assisted with hammer or screw-driver to construct it under Arkwright's direction. He employs the same word to describe the power that perfected the electric telegraph and the power that stretches the wires from pole to pole like clotheslines. He confuses under one heading the functions of the employer and the employed,—of the men who lead in industry and the men who follow. He calls them all laborers, and he calls their work labor.

"Now, were the question merely one of literary or philosophical propriety, this inclusive use of the word labor might be defensible; but we have nothing to do here with the niceties of such trivial criticism. We are concerned not with what a word might be made to mean, but with what practically it does mean; and if we

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appeal to the ordinary use of language,—not only its use by the ordinary mass of men, but its most frequent use by economic writers, also,—we shall find that the word labor has a meaning which is practically settled; and we shall find that this meaning is not an inclusive one, but exclusive. We shall find that labor means, practically, muscular labor, or, at all events, some form of exertion of which men—common men—are universally capable; and that it not only never naturally includes any other idea, but distinctly and emphatically excludes it. For instance, when Mills, in his 'Principles of Political Economy,' devotes one of his chapters to the future of the 'Laboring Classes' he instinctively uses the word as meaning manual laborers. When, as not unfrequently happens, some opulent politician says to a popular audience, 'I, too, am a laboring man,' he is either understood to be saying something which is only true metaphorically, or is jeered at as saying something which is not true at all. The Wattses, the Stevensons, the Wentworths, the Bessemers, the Armstrongs, the Brasseys, are, according to the formal definitions of the economists, one and all of them, laborers. But what man is there who if, in speaking of a strike, he were to say that he

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supported, or opposed, the claims of labor, would be understood as meaning the claims of employers and millionaires like these? It is evident that no one would understand him in such a sense; and if he used the word *labor* thus, he would be merely trifling with language. The word—for all practical purposes—has its meaning unequivocally fixed. It does not mean all human exertion; it emphatically means a part of it only. It means muscular and manual exertion, or exertion of which the ordinary man is capable, as distinct from industrial exertion of any other kind; and not only as distinct from it, but as actually opposed to and struggling with it."

Ah, yes; just there, in fact, is the tragedy of the whole business; and in that last sentence of Mr. Mallock's lies the point of his whole argument. It is in vain, in other words, that we endeavor, by amiable sophisms which, true enough once, have long ago ceased to be true, to obscure to ourselves or to others that tremendous cleavage which, in our time, has come to pass between the rest of human society and those who make up what we call the working classes. In part I have already indicated the causes of that cleavage; and they are, in turn, the in-

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fluences through which, alas! it has been too often widened and deepened.

In some degree, undoubtedly, they are the result of ignorance or of misapprehension. The development of industrial activities in the century that has just closed has resulted in a vast increase in the world's wealth; and, especially in our own country, in aggregations of wealth which have greatly accentuated to the working classes the enormous discrepancies between themselves and the capitalist classes. The commonest form in which this expresses itself is that "the rich are growing richer, and the poor are growing poorer," and more acute expressions of it are not greatly different from a speech which I find in an organ of labor published, curiously enough, in Boston, and in which occur these words: "In a land whose bowels teem with all the varieties of natural wealth, men are naked, homeless, and starving; you who bear the burden of an extravagant, a wanton, a barbaric luxury, and yet have not wherewith to appease your hunger,—starved, imprisoned, tortured into subjection, 'Pinkertoned' to death; you who, from your miserable hovels see the palaces of your masters rising around you; who can behold their luxurious equipages, and yet must

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trudge on foot yourselves; you can read of their ocean greyhounds, their trips to Europe, their Newports, their Saratogas; and, deprived yourselves of air and light, with no vacations, few amusements, and less rational enjoyment, will you calmly see all this when you know that all this fabric of luxury and ease springs from your labor?" [1]

The gravaman of this invective consists, as you will perceive, in the implied claim that the product of labor, which belongs of right to the laborer, is, by some adroit but essentially dishonest process, diverted from his pocket, and goes—the vast proportion of it—not into the laborer's wage but into the employer's profit. And this is, indeed, the claim of a whole school of social economists, of whom the late Karl Marx was the leader, and whose theories have now come to be widely accepted by working men in all parts of the civilized world. The official language of what I believe was, not long ago, the largest labor organization in this or any other country, as published under the title "Polity of the Labor Movement," [2] is: (1) "That labor creates all wealth. (2) That all

[1] "The Labor Leader," Boston, April 9, 1892.
[2] Vol. 1, p. 4.

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wealth belongs to those who create it." From this it manifestly follows "that all wealth rightfully belongs to the laborer." It is not surprising, that, deceived by such sophistries as these the working man regards his employer with distrust, and considers the present social order but little better than legalized robbery.

But the most melancholy feature in the whole situation is that such sophistries have been caught up by many earnest people who are not working men, but who have been moved, by what they believe to be the wrongs of working men, to espouse their cause. For, though it ought not to be necessary, it may be opportune, to say that all such teaching is as false as it is vicious, and to point out why it is so. Nothing could be more essentially grotesque than to say that labor, in the sense in which I have already defined it here, creates all wealth, or that it creates any considerable part of it. That which creates incomparably the largest part of wealth is not muscular force, or physical strength, or bodily energy. These might toil a thousand years, if life were stretched so long, and produce no more, even then, than the fruit of their labor at the end of their first day's or first week's work. For, forever, over against the mere day-laborer who

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delves, or plants, or forges with his hands, stand the inexorable wants of his daily life which daily devour what he daily produces. And therefore it is only when that which is not labor, but intelligence, foresight, ability, mental cleverness, the genius of invention, the genius of organization,—call it what you will, the name is of infinitesimal consequence,—comes in and takes this labor, and touches it with its magic wand, and bends it to its clever will, and co-ordinates it by its masterly intuitions, that there come the vast results, in all the countless productive mechanisms and motors of the modern industrial world, that have made that world the thing it is to-day. Mr. Mallock's image of the bronze statue is, if only a little changed, the perfect picture of the whole matter. Here before us are two colossal figures which have been fused, each, in fierce fires, and wrought of costly metals, and fashioned at last into the image of a man. The workmen who gathered the fuel and kindled the fires and mined the metal have fashioned one of them, unaided and alone, as best they could. And another set of workmen have mined and fired and fashioned their image too, but with this single difference: that, beside them as they wrought, guiding, suggesting, correcting, in-

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forming them as they toiled, was Praxiteles, or Michelangelo, or Canova, or Crawford, or St. Gaudens; and, as a consequence, when the two statues stand completed, one is worth its weight in brass, and not one penny more, and the other is worth well-nigh its weight in gold. And yet by him who has given to it all this priceless worth no ore was mined, nor fire built, nor metal forged—no, not an ounce, from first to last!

But while thus we dismiss one fallacy of the modern labor movement with no more contempt than it deserves, the graver aspects of the situation do not disappear. A recent writer on the wage question [1] has shown with great cleverness how large a proportion of the earnings of modern capital goes directly into the pocket of the working man; and, by way of heightening the force of his argument, has presented a series of contrasts which, if no more, are dramatic. In the fourteenth century, for instance, as Eden in his "State of the Poor" records, an inventory of the household furniture of a peasant six years before the death of Edward I, gave this return: [2]

[1] G. Guntor, "Wealth and Progress."
[2] Eden's "State of the Poor," Vol. I. p. 22.

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	£	s.	d.
A maize cup	0	0	6
A bed	0	1	6
A tripod	0	0	3
A brass pot	0	1	0
A brass cup	0	0	6
An andiron	0	0	3½
A brass dish	0	0	6
A gridiron	0	0	5
A rug or coverlet	0	0	8
	0	5	7½

In other words, the whole equipment of the household of a working man was in Edward I's time, ordinarily, of the value of about one dollar and thirty-seven cents. The man whose home this made earned twelve cents a week; and, lest we should suppose that his money had a much larger purchasing power than its amount implies, Hallam tells us that the diet of such an one was usually pottage, and his garment a rough hide. The history of wages is almost a literature in itself, and it would be quite impossible to follow the progress of the workman's wages in detail from the fourteenth century to the twentieth. The enquirer will discover one or

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two facts, however, and we may wisely hold them in mind. For the three or four centuries that followed the thirteenth century, which we may take as sufficiently illustrating the status of the mediæval laborer, the standard of wages changed surprisingly little. It rose slightly sometimes, but, again, it fell; and though there was a slight advance as wealth grew and the demands of a higher civilization increased, it has been reserved for our own generation to witness the most remarkable growth in the gains of the wage-earner to be found in all his history. In a paper read before Section F at a recent meting of the British Association,[1] "Mr. A. L. Bowley compared the rates of increase of wages in the United States and in Great Britain between 1860 and 1891. The conclusion at which he arrived was as follows: 'In both countries real wages rose some 20 per cent, between 1860 and the maximum period of 1871-74; money wages rose 50 per cent. in the United States and between 30 and 40 per cent. in the United Kingdom in the same period. The rise in real wages was checked in 1879-80 in the United States, but continued with little interruption in England; money wages fell to a mini-

[1] September 12, 1895.

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mum in 1879-80 in both countries. After 1880, money wages rose continuously (with a check in 1886) till 1891, and real wages rose more rapidly in both countries . . . . In both countries money wages were at much the same level in 1873 and 1891, this level being relatively higher in the United States than in Great Britain. In both countries real wages were higher in 1891 than in 1873; and, when purchasing power is thus taken into consideration, the increase in the whole period is found to be greater in Great Britain. The relative height attained cannot be estimated exactly, but the figures lead to the conclusion that between the years 1860 and 1891 real wages increased in the United States about 60 per cent. and more than 70 per cent. in the United Kingdom.' "[1]

But what, it may be asked, has all this to do with the cry of the working man that capital is getting more than its fair share of the products of industry? Just this; that during the period which I have indicated, a widow having a railway bond for $5000 from which, twenty years ago, she received $350 per annum (and remember that this widow, though this $5000 bond may easily be her all,—the single plank that she has

[1] Quoted in "The Labor Problem," Drage, p. 33

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between her and absolute want,—is still one of the hated capitalistic class—a class, let me observe, far more numerous, more wide-spread, and more dependent than we are apt to suppose; a class standing often for those whom, when want pinches, it pinches worst, for such an one has been educated to have many needs which to the working man are the merest affectations),—consider, I say, that this widow who, twenty years ago, received $350 per annum from her little capital, is lucky now if she gets $250 from it, and oftener still gets only $200 per annum.

In other words, and that is the point toward which I am moving, the last quarter of a century—to speak in general terms—has brought to the working man an increase in his earnings of from 60 to 70 per cent., while the same period has cost the capitalist the loss of from 20 to 30 per cent. upon his.

"Ah, yes," replies the working man, "all this may be true enough; but it does not, after all, alter in any considerable degree the essential equities of the case. Capital as such earns less than heretofore, but why? Simply because there is so much of it. In one sense it is like anything else, a commodity, and commodities are cheap because they are plenty. The bor-

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rower no longer needs to pay the capitalist 7 per cent. for his money, for the simple reason that there is so much capital that the possessors are glad to loan it on good security for 4 or even 3 1-2 per cent. But who created the capital? How could it have come into existence without the working man, and why is it that, having so largely created it, he so slightly benefits from its increase?''

The question recalls a spectacle which one may see in Burma, in the ship-yards at Rangoon. There, on any morning all round the year, the traveller may observe a process whose interest is even greater in its suggestiveness than in its unwontedness. As you enter the ship-yard, your eye is caught by three or four huge and unwieldy figures which, to your amazement, are, as you discover, engaged in loading, unloading, or stacking timbers. The figures are those of elephants that, with a painstaking, a method, a precision, and a patience that seem almost more than human, are seizing huge logs of oak, or mahogany, or teak wood with their trunks, balancing them carefully as they lift them from the ship's deck that lies beside the wharf, carrying them through the winding pathways toward their destination, and when that destination is

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reached, lifting them, each one, to its place upon the great stack in the ship-yard, and as it rests there, gently pushing each timber with knee or trunk until it rests in its precise position, as nicely and exactly aligned as though the task had been performed with rule and square and guided by a human hand. "Wonderful creature!" you exclaim. "What a rare order of intelligence is here, and how sure and unerring the faculties that can accomplish such a work in such a way!" But, as you look a little closer, you note that, seated upon the neck of the huge animal is a slight figure, often seemingly a mere lad, with a slender wand in his hand, which, however, he rarely raises, and with which you never see him strike a blow. You watch him, however, still more closely, and you note the intermittent pressure of his heel upon the neck of the animal that he rides,— and that is all. But, indeed, just there is the secret of the whole business. The brute obeys the man. The clever intelligence and gentle touch of the Burmese rider's heel guides, directs, restrains, constrains, energizes, the enormous living bulk beneath him, and converts it from a destroying monster into a faithful and untiring servant.

The parable in these modern days is of univer-

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sal application. In a thousand ways, modern genius contrives, constructs, organizes, and correlates mechanisms and forces which somehow pass into the common possession of the great mass of the people; often in such ways that they come to disassociate them wholly from their creators, and to think that the mill, the engine, the machine, and the man who fires and follows it are the creators of our modern civilization. They are among the creators of that civilization, but, from first to last, they are dependent for its effective fruitage upon some other wholly outside of either.

It is undoubtedly true that while there are still large numbers of working men who persist in denying this, and who therefore persist in urging the unwarrantable claims to which I have referred, there are others who do nothing of the sort. They are intelligent enough to see that industry could win no victories without the captains of industry; that machinery could maintain no place of consistent achievement in the world, if there were not men who not merely contrived it but improved upon it, and whose marvelous powers of contrivance marched side by side—nay, often far in advance— of the marvelous tasks to which industrial forces have been

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summoned in our day. Such working men recognize and concede to the inventor, the capitalist, the clever executive, the master-builder or master-machinist, each his place of rightfully greater honor and emolument for greater service rendered. But while he does so, the working man insists that, notwithstanding all that can be urged as to the rise of wages in recent years, especially in our own country, the *conditions* under which the working man labors make his position increasingly unsatisfactory and precarious.

And in a very real sense he is right. I have already, as you will remember, and in another connection, referred to one reason for this; for insisting upon the hardship of which, a few years ago, on some public occasion, in this city, I was very roundly abused, but as to the essential cruelty of which I shall still take leave to say there can be no smallest doubt. I refer to the results to the working man of industrial specialization. We are moving along that line, in these times, with increasing ardor and unanimity in almost every connection. Fifty years ago an ordinary household had its family physician, who, whether one's ailment was of the heart or of the liver, was summoned with

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equal confidence and usually, on the whole, with equal advantage. But to-day I must wait upon one learned gentleman for an affection of my throat, and another for that of my heart, and another for disorders of my nerves. It would not be becoming a layman to speculate upon the effect of this narrowing of his range upon the medical man himself, but there can be no slightest question as to its effect, in the industrial world, upon the working man. I shall not speak now of its intolerable irksomeness, dreariness, its benumbing and stupefying influence, for I have already elsewhere referred to these; but it is most important that we should recognize those disabling effects which must inevitably have so considerable and disastrous an influence upon the working man's efficiency, his productiveness or economic utility as a wage-earner in any other than one particular mill, at one particular task, with one particular tool. In any other mill, at any other task, with any other tool, this man is *worthless*,—and this is what the great march of industrial progress, over which we are all wont to rejoice, has done for him!

Do you wonder now at one result of such a situation, with which of late we have been much

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concerned, and which, if you and I and Christian people generally are to serve the cause of the working man, it behooves us to understand, —I mean the trades-unions? We are as yet too near to realize the meaning of the tremendous change which has come to the working man during the century that has just ended. "For ages the rule had been that the working man himself owned his own machine as well as the raw materials of his own industry." But even before the dawn of that great industrial revolution produced by modern machinery hitched to steam, electricity, and the like, there had begun that departure from this earlier and simpler state of things which introduced the merchant who dealt in raw material and the mill-owner who manufactured it. And out of this beginning of change it came to pass that the working man was separated farther and farther from his life of earlier independence, and reduced more and more, himself, to the condition of a mere machine. Until you and I have stood where he has stood, until those who are not working men and women can realize the grim despair that stares them in the face as they are held in the grip of some huge mechanism of capital and machinery, until we can understand what it is to work, or

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to stand idle, not as the impulse to labor or the needs of our families demand, but as the whim of the employer or the condition of the market, bare to-day and glutted to-morrow, shall decide, we are in no condition adequately to appreciate that stern necessity out of which the trades-union has grown. I presume I should express not inaccurately the mental attitude of great multitudes of people in regard to these organizations if I said that they regard them with disfavor, and watch their growth and influence with dread. A greater blunder in estimating them could not well be made! They have, indeed, more than once earned the distrust of the community at large, and have deserved it. Here and there they have lent themselves to acts of violence for which there was no sufficient justification, and, worst of all, have broken explicit pledges with swift indifference and with scanty scruple. But when we judge them in connection with such acts, we must remember that they, too, have known what it was to have agreements disregarded or pledges cleverly evaded; and in all our criticisms of them we shall do well to recognize the fact that, in the final analysis of the principles of their organization, they stand for all that society itself as an organized entity

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stands for,—the free consent of the governed. "As a matter of fact," as Mr. Geoffrey Drage has admirably put it, "the value of the trades-union movement is to be estimated not so much by the extent to which it has raised the rate of wages or reduced the hours of labor, as by its educational influence as a preparation for the responsibilities of self-government. The greatness of the friendly-society movement must be measured not more by the material aid which it has afforded to the working man in time of need, than by the stimulus which it has given to the moral qualities of thrift and independence. The worth of the co-operative movement does not depend only on its ability to increase the capacity of the workmen's earnings, but also on the insight which it has afforded them into the complexities of business life. The education which these voluntary associations have provided for the working man has given a new purpose to his life. . . . 'Still more than all this,' Dr. Baernreither, a foreign observer, states, 'the workman who has established and who directs these associations has ceased to be an inactive spectator of the state and of society. His life has received a new purpose and character. . . . His understanding and his insight in economic mat-

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ters are increasing; he is learning by his experience to recognize the difficulties which oppose themselves to the carrying out of social institutions; he is becoming more moderate in his claims, calmer in judgment, and more contented with success. On the other hand, he is losing nothing of that pertinacity in the pursuit of his ends which has always been his distinctive characteristic. Step by step, by his meetings, journals, and congresses, he is attracting the general interest of the public, acquiring an influence in local (and even national) bodies, and becoming a more active, independent, and powerful factor in state life. But the main thing is that the world of thought is filled with things clearly practicable and attainable, and that no Utopias find place in it.' "[1]

This is the judgment, concerning the labor and kindred organizations of the Anglo-Saxon working man, of a foreigner of wide observation and philosophic insight. I am not prepared to say that we can, here, accept it *au pied de la lettre*; but, in substance, it is unquestionably the statement of a great truth in regard to trades-unions which those who are outside of them will be wise unreservedly to recognize. A leading

[1] "English Associations of Working Men," by Dr. Baernreither.

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element of menace in such organizations consists in the fact, for which we, not they who are of them, are responsible, that we have cared so little to understand them; that we have striven so little to sympathize with them; and that, worst of all, our personal attitude toward them has been so remote and frigid, if not distinctly hostile. It has been my great privilege—I account it one of the chiefest of my life—to come into frequent and intimate contact with men who represented trades-unions in great variety, which were inclusive of individuals who ranged, in their culture and attainments, all the way from the humblest day-laborer to the most skilled craftsman, artisan, and all but artist; and I have found, in all of them, qualities in which, far more than in any written covenants with their employers, lie the highest hopes of the future. We are apt too often to derive our impressions of the mental attitudes of other people from words or acts which are the result of extreme provocation; and to forget that these no more represent another's normal and usual mental attitude than the temperature of his blood under such conditions represents his normal physical condition; but for myself, at any rate, I am constrained to say that the susceptibility

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of a working man of fair intelligence to dispassionate reasoning, and his readiness to be influenced by the force of it, are quite as great as I have ordinarily found in employers or others of their class, though the latter were often persons of much higher culture.

Such a fact has a far higher significance than at first appears; for it opens the door to those wider considerations without a reference to which such a discussion as this would be largely in vain. No view, that is to say, of the working man and of the duty to him of Christian men who do not hold a place themselves in the ranks, as I have defined them, of working men, can be of any substantial value which does not recognize that the higher future of the working man must largely depend, finally, upon himself. And upon this I would insist, though I do not forget that there have been various specifics for remedying the injustices or the inequalities of his present condition, on which from time to time social economists have built large hopes, and which I may not here leave unnoticed.

One of these has been what is known as industrial co-operation, the principle of which is that the workman, over and above a fixed wage, shall receive a percentage of the profits made in the

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business of his employer, and find in such percentage not only a more adequate reward for his services but a stimulus to greater zeal and fidelity in his work. The scheme was born of a beautiful ideal, and it has had, at least in France, a limited measure of success. But while it has appealed both to the just interests and the worthy ambitions of working men, it has not, on the whole, found as yet in them the qualities that insure its success. A Welsh colliery company entered, a few years ago, into a permanent contract with its workmen, whereby the latter were to receive, in addition to the current rate of wages, one half of the profits above 10 per cent. for the redemption of capital invested. As long as there were profits, and the rate of wages presented no difficulty, this answered well enough; but when the tide turned and there were no profits, but only loss unless wages were reduced, the situation was wholly altered, at any rate in the estimate of the workmen, and the compact was broken up, on the demand of the men themselves, who said they should prefer to be simply members of the "Miners' Union."[1]

The difficulty in such cases, and indeed in all

[1] See article Co-operation, in the Encyclopædia Brittannica.

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cases of a like class, arises out of a twofold feature in them, the presence of which is all but inevitable. In the first place, the working man, as a partner, is without capital, and has therefore no resources with which to stand continued losses; and, in the second place, it often happens that he is too imperfectly educated as a business man to bring to the co-operative enterprise, of whatever sort it may happen to be, anything else than an unintelligent and too often obstructive criticism.

The same objections lie, to a certain extent, against another method for the organization of modern industry, which has in it, however, much larger elements of promise, and which has achieved, already, a much larger measure of success. I mean that known as profit-sharing. Under this scheme the working man has a direct interest in the success of that in which he is engaged, over and above his wage, and receives a certain percentage, fixed beforehand, or graduated, from time to time, according to the success of the business. In France, and also in this country, there have been instances in which this plan has been worked with considerable profit and with mutual satisfaction: but the element of weakness in it lies in the inevitable control of

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the business by others than the workman. If the proprietor of a mill mismanages his business, according to my judgment, but yet pays me my stipulated wage, his mismanagement is largely a matter of indifference to me. But if he mismanages his business, as I judge his management, while under an agreement to pay me not only a wage but a percentage of his profits, then at once his mismanagement, as I account it, becomes for me a very serious and personal matter. And yet I may not interfere, and am powerless to alter or arrest a policy which, to me, appears foolish and fatal.

I would not be understood, in saying this much, as undervaluing the two really great movements, as I think they deserve to be accounted, of co-operative industry and profit-sharing; for they have, as their highest significance, a real note of sensitiveness as to what is due to the working man in connection with our industrial progress, and are, from this point of view, of large inspiration. Undoubtedly, as Mackenzie has said, "There is evidence that the sense of personal obligation as involved in business is becoming largely extended. Masters, here and there, are beginning to realize that their positions as captains of industry has a moral as

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well as an economic aspect;" but it must still be owned that in such methods as these the labor problem has not as yet found its sufficient solution.

For myself, however, I believe that these experiments, tentative and often unsuccessful as they have been, nevertheless point the way toward that solution, though it will not, it should be distinctly said, be found by proceeding indefinitely along a line the direction of which, as some of our most ardent social reformers maintain, the experiments of co-operation and profit-sharing indicate. This, as you will have anticipated me in saying, is a direction which ends in what just now is known as *collectivism*. Collectivism is that theory or system of industrial organization under which all private property is taken over by the state and run for the public benefit,—or, rather, to be more precise, for the equal benefit of each individual in the whole community. The apparent advantages of such a system are very obvious, and, to the imagination of an over-worked man or woman, very attractive. In the first place, it would, if successful in its operations, remove from life the mere struggle for existence. Each one would be sure of his share of the whole earnings of the public industries,

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paid at fixed times, and at an absolutely equal rate. In the second place, the enormous disparities between wealth and poverty would, at one stroke, disappear; and the tyrannies of the one and the degrading temptations of the other would no longer be possible. And finally, under a system so thoroughly de-individualized as this, the rivalries and competitions that so largely embitter life would vanish; and peace and order, beauty and sunshine, would reign throughout the world.

It is a fair and fascinating picture; but, before attempting to realize it—as undoubtedly working men, in whose hands are the ballots which are the final arbiters in any national policy under our form of government, could at least begin to do by decreeing that economic revolution which must precede it—before, I say, attempting to realize it, it will be well for working men to look candidly in the face those ethical and economic conditions which underlie the whole subject.

Let us imagine, then, for a moment, that the whole industrial capital of the United States, both corporate and individual, whether in money or machinery, has been taken over by the state, and is to be administered by it or its repre-

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sentatives for the benefit of the whole people. The first questions, obviously, which would arise are, Who are to administer it? and, How are they to be selected? and, How are they to be compensated? To which the answer would be, I presume, that this administration is to be by persons chosen by the authority of the officers of the state for that purpose. But here at once, you will see, you have violated your fundamental principle of absolute equality; since, if one man is to sit in an office in a clean linen shirt (if he can afford one), and issue orders to another man who is sweltering in a rolling mill, naked to the waist and dripping with perspiration, they certainly are not in possession of equal conditions or equal privileges. And if you say that this can be remedied by making the manager of to-day the hand laborer of to-morrow, and by conducting the works upon some such large system of daily alternatives, then you are confronted with difficulties in, *e. g.*, the disproportion of workmen to managers, which, in that direction, indicate very plainly that we have come to a hopeless *impasse*.

But again: Suppose that, for the sake of the system, we have in such a case made an exception, let us pass on to another. The industries

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of the nation having now passed into the hands of the state, what are the prospects of the state itself? A crying evil in the present industrial system, it is maintained by those who would abolish it, consists in the fluctuations of labor, good times and bad times, mills running when it will pay, and idle when it will not; and state control of industries would, we are told, correct all this by providing steady and unbroken employment for all men at all times. Again, I say, a beautiful and fascinating theory, but one which altogether leaves out of account those various influences, wholly beyond the control of the state, which are represented by failure of crops, fluctuations in trade, commercial rivalries with other nations, war, famine, pestilence, and a whole group of other influences which are as wholly outside the control of the state as are the motion of the heavenly bodies.

And then, finally, as we have had most painful evidence, especially in our great centres of population, the erection of the state or communal authorities, of whatever name, into an employer introduces possibilities of corruption which the most humiliating experience has taught us to be almost inseparable from such a system. In times of commercial, financial, or agricultural

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depression, even the state cannot provide work for every man; and, when it can, the different kinds of work, some of it light and easy, but more of it, as it easily may be, exhausting and repulsive, afford a temptation for corrupting the official employer of labor by bribe for "soft places," which, as the employer has no personal interest in the thoroughness or excellence of the work, he has no slightest motive of self-interest for refusing, and every sordid motive for accepting.

I need not pursue these illustrations further. They point alike, with equal clearness, to the conclusion that the collectivist theory is a theory that will serve the well-being of the working man as little as that of his employer. "Monopoly," it has been pithily said, "extinguishes the evils of competition, but with them its benefits"; and of no other monopoly is this so true as that of the state. "There is," as Mr. Drage has pointed out, "no kind of work which can long stand the loss of the spur of competition. There is scarcely an industry which does not depend from one day to another upon competition for life and progress. In a few the stages of rest may be of some duration, but the general tendency of all is to recast the

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methods of production, more or less radically, from year to year. A varied demand and vigorous competitive offer can alone create and maintain this wholesome state of progress which, in a purely industrial community, struggling with rivals in all quarters of the globe, is the sole condition of existence. Public and municipal production means the reduction and extinction of all the conditions that make for competition," and, worse than this, tends inevitably to the corruption and enervation of those whom such a system employs. "Such tendencies," it has justly been demanded, "must be faced and met by those who advocate the extension of the sphere of employment by public authorities. Up to the present, history has shown the 'virtue, energy, and self-interest of each individual' to be the greatest motive power in human affairs. . . . . ." The advocates of an extension of public employment ignore or underestimate facts of this kind, urging that past history affords no test as to the results of an extended democratic bureaucracy. Their belief, however, is at present entirely a matter of faith. "It seems to me," says Lord Farrar, one of the ablest and most dispassionate authorities upon this whole question, "that

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while the old economy was a science or attempted science which tried to investigate facts, the present socialistic economy is a speech." . . . . "My feeling about it," he adds, "is that, while we may sympathize entirely with its objects, we often find it at fault in not recognizing the facts of the world, and therefore assuming that it can disregard the limitations which arise from the facts."[1]

But if, let me now ask in conclusion, in no one of these directions we may look for the panacea for those problems of the working man which I have thus far discussed, whither must we turn?

The answer to that question is to be found, I believe, rather in a new purpose and a new point of view, than in any particular methods. The fundamental defect in our modern situation, so far as the working man is concerned, is that we have not understood him, nor cared to. When the time shall come that the employer and the capitalist shall realize that their interests and his are not two, but one, then we shall at least have taken the first step toward the solution of these issues which now threaten, as it seems sometimes, to disrupt the social structure itself.

[1] See "The Labor Problem," Drage, pp. 301-302.

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Something to this end can be done by legislation, though not so much nor so effectually as is ordinarily supposed. Something more can be done by the recovery for the many of the privileges and perquisites which are now within the reach only of the few; but most of all can be accomplished by mutual understanding on the part of different classes, and then by mutual confidence and respect. Almost the worst enemy to the progress of human society is the spirit of caste; and the tragic element in the constitution of our modern social structure is that, under forms of government that profess long ago to have renounced and abandoned it, it still rears its head in forms more insolent and more mischievous than any that in any age of human history it has assumed. For while we may be patient with the caste spirit when it survives as the product, in earlier ages, of marked tribal distinctions, or, in later ages, as the inheritance of a long line of feudal tradition or distinguished ancestry, it becomes, when we see it, as too often we see it to-day, the mere incarnation of material possessions in huge bulk and adroit association, a menace alike to the rights of the weak and the freedom of the poor. And so we need not only to be afraid of it, but to be concerned for it. A

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caste of capitalists, separated by practically impassable barriers from a caste of workers, means social anarchy and industrial war; and the only remedy for a situation so grave is in that unresting and self-sacrificing activity on the part of those who are outside of the working men's caste which shall first break into and then dissolve it by a temper and a service that shall transform hostile interests into common interests, and narrow and mean ambitions into higher and nobler aspirations. "For this purpose," as Mr. John Beattie Crozier has admirably put it, "we must multiply all the aids and outlooks necessary to the differentiation and classification of men, instead of leaving them lumped together as mere 'working men'; and to this end the land must be more broken up for the purchase of plots both in town and country; cheap dwelling houses must be erected; . . . . schools of technique and design, and of everything connected with industry, without limit or stint, so that everything which will help to push the clever workman a stage farther may be at hand to assist him: and especially every security that can be devised for protecting him in and enabling him to get the full value of his inventions. In this way, with this indispensable minimum as a start, followed

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up and aided by all the apparatus with which rising talent has to work, as well as by all collateral incentives in the shape of property-owning, profit-sharing, and the like: with these all graded up to the topmost step, and the workmen pressing forward across the gulf separating them from capital to ascend the ladder of capital itself, Capital and Labor, instead of confronting each other as solid masses in opposing camps, would be broken up into infinite grades and subdivisions with no unbridgable gaps anywhere between, and, like an army where each private carries a possible commission in his pocket, there would be no longer capitalists and workmen, but only *Men* at different stages on the rungs of the industrial ladder, a ladder which includes both capitalists and laborers, and is without breach of continuity from bottom to top. With all this, ... and with each rung of the ladder charged with new possibilities, so that each step gained is a help to the one above it, men start fairly equipped for the battle of life; while intellect and character, united in their various aspects, being the chief means of advancement, must end by becoming the twin ideals of the nation.'"[1]

[1] "History of Intellectual Development," etc., Crozier, pp. 141-142.

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A noble ideal, surely! May it be theirs whose office it is, in their relations alike with the humblest and the highest, as preachers and as citizens, to illustrate their Master's spirit, to seek thus to transform with it the life of the working man!

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THE CAPITALIST

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III

THE CAPITALIST

THE topic of which I am to speak in this lecture, suggests, as indeed must more than once have occurred to you, the unavoidably cursory character of any such discussion as the limits of these lectures permit. In speaking, as I am now to do, of the citizen and the capitalist, it would be difficult to exclude, if we were to attempt to do so, any one of the great issues that belong to modern civics. Within the area thus defined lie all the graver questions that touch our social order and life; and an adequate and complete discussion of them, as any one will realize who has attempted to familiarize himself with the sociological writers of our own generation alone, would be a literature in itself. For, hardly anywhere, as a very little reading of it will demonstrate, are there points of view so remote, and lines of argument so divergent, from one another.

It will be understood, therefore, I think, that

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what is now attempted is suggestive rather than exhaustive; introductory rather than final; a stimulus, if one may venture to hope that these words may fulfil so useful a purpose, toward further inquiry, rather than anything so large and difficult as its final answer. The need of this moment—and I shall, for myself, be content if I can be able, though only in some partial measure, to supply it—is to arouse earnest and thoughtful minds to inquiry, and to awaken in those whose calling it is, and will be more and more, to be guides and helpers of their fellow-men in the dark places of life, the aspiration to be at least in some measure competent to a task so noble. To be privileged to teach a mind perplexed, embittered, exasperated by the hard and, as it often seems to him, heartless conditions of our modern industrial life, first, to recognize the causes which have produced those conditions; and then, so far as they are remediable conditions, how best we may, all together, teacher and pupil, master and servant, workman and foreman, contractor, capitalist and consumer, labor for their solution,—this, I cannot but think, is one of the worthiest tasks to which man, in the service of his brother man, can address himself.

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You will understand, therefore, why, for the subjects of these lectures, I have selected those which I announced to you. There are other themes, doubtless, which might be regarded as having equal if not greater claim upon our earlier attention. But those which I have designated for our consideration have at least this distinctive merit,—they are both typical and comprehensive. They stand, severally, for those largest classes into which, after all, though they may not be precisely included in any one of them, fall all the members of civilized society, as they approximate, severally, to the one or the other. Largely speaking, they represent our modern humanity, and they designate it.

This will be recognized the more clearly, I think, if I proceed at once to the consideration of the subject of this lecture, "The Capitalist."

"What is a capitalist?" asks a young inquirer, as he stands upon the deck of an ocean steamer in the South Atlantic, and gazes, somewhat listlessly, toward the nearest land in sight, which land, at the moment, happens to be the coast of Patagonia.

"Take this glass," answers his companion, handing him a powerful binocular, "and look

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closely at yonder promontory, and you will find your answer."

His questioner directs his glass toward the coast-line indicated, looks steadily, and after a moment answers, "I see nothing."

"Nothing?"

"Nothing except—stop a moment! I see two figures, one of them a naked savage gesticulating with considerable violence, and the other, another savage wearing a breech-cloth in which arrows are stuck, and carrying a bow. He raises one hand, from time to time, in a deprecatory or defensive gesture. But what of it?"

"What of it, my dear friend? Can you not read that dialogue in the sign-language as clearly as though you heard the voices of yonder bushmen? You ask what is a capitalist, and yonder is your answer. The gentleman with the bow and the arrows and the breech-cloth is a capitalist, and the other gentleman—is not."

So far as I am aware, the definition of the foremost authorities in social or political economy does not substantially differ from this. Mr. John Stuart Mill, as perhaps you will remember, and other economists with him, when seeking a graphic expression of the source and service of capital, have called it "abstinence."

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In other words, one man consumes what he finds or traps (returning to the most primitive conditions of life), and another abstains to a greater or less degree from consuming, and exchanges what he has thus saved for food, a weapon, a tool, a fellow-man's service, or what you will; and then, when he has thus acquired what another has wrought or found or captured, he becomes, whether it be bows and arrows and breech-cloths, or metals and machinery or manufactures, or their products in kind or in money, that he possesses, a capitalist. "The flint arrow-heads, the stone and bronze utensils of fossiliferous origin, and the rude implements of agriculture, war, and navigation of which we read in Homer, were the forerunners of that rich and wonderful display of tools, machines, engines, furnaces, and countless ingenious and costly appliances which represent so large a portion of the capital of civilized countries, and without the pre-existing capital could not have been developed." No progress can be made in any sphere, large or small, without reserved funds, possessed by a few or more persons, in small or large amounts; and "therefore capital is not a prerogative or monopoly of any class, but," as Professor Cairnes, in his "Some Lead-

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ing Principles of Political Economy,"[1] has shown, "embraces, both in its actual form and its future possibilities, all classes of men from the laborer to the millionaire. Shall further in the formula of M. Bastiat, as given in his "Harmonies of Political Economy," VII, "in proportion to the increase of capital, the *absolute* share of the total product falling to the capitalist is augmented, and his relative share is diminished; while, on the contrary, the laborer's share is increased both absolutely and relatively. And finally, capital and the capitalist, so far from being the antagonists, are the allies of labor and the laborer, the indispensable means of all extended employment and reward of labor, as well as of all increase of population and civilized well-being."[2]

I do not need, however, to tell any one who hears me that any such definitions, whether of capital or the capitalist, as these, are held, by a considerable number of people to-day, to be alike false and misleading. They do not believe that capital has been the due reward whether of abstinence or of ability. They do not believe that there are other rights in a machine, though

[1] Part II, Chapter 3.
[2] Cairnes, *vide supra*.

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one man may have invented it and another worked it, than those of the man that works it. They disown any doctrine that maintains that there is any other capital than labor, and affirm that the whole product of labor belongs to the laborer, and none of it to him who furnished him with his task, the material in which he delves, or the tools with which he toils. "This then," says an author of the "Fabian Essays," the manifesto of the English socialists, "is the economic analysis which convicts private property of being unjust, even from the beginning, and utterly impossible as a final solution of even the individualistic aspect of the problem of adjusting the share of the worker, in the distribution of wealth, to the labor incurred by him in its production. All attempts yet made to construct true societies upon it have failed; the nearest things to societies so achieved have been civilizations, which have rotted into centres of vice and luxury, and eventually have been swept away by uncivilized races. That our own civilization is already in an advanced stage of rottenness may be taken as statistically proved. That further decay instead of improvement must ensue if the institution of private property be maintained is economically certain."

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That there are not alone reckless, unscrupulous, and lawless men who believe this, and are ready, if they dared, to act upon their belief; but others, also, who view our present social problems with alarm, and look for their solution in the abolition of capital and the capitalist, there can be no doubt. They point with warning finger to the enormous growth of private fortunes and to the colossal expansion of corporate wealth. In both these they see a menace to our liberties, and an enemy to our virtue; and some of them are almost as ready as the most fanatical anarchist in the land to lift the hand that would destroy them.

For one, I would not minimize the dangers which they discern, or deny the tendencies which they distrust. Aggregations of force have always in them the element of peril, whatever their nature or purpose. The storage of many billions of tons of water just above this beautiful city of yours, because you had reason to apprehend that the cutting off of the forest in the interior of your State would dry up the sources that now supply your great river, might be a wise and far-seeing precaution. But it could not be denied that it would create a distinct and menacing peril. Masonry ever so massive and

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costly will yield at length, unless vigilantly watched and cared for; and so of other safeguards which, from the very nature of things, must needs be chiefly moral, which we oppose to the unscrupulous aggressions of vast aggregations of capital. The buying of legislatures, the corruption of judges, the stealthy enervation, first of the forces that answer to our physical, and then to our moral police, by systems of organized bribery and profit-sharing in connection with the most infamous forms of vice and crime,—these are instances, tragic, and, alas! as familiar as they are tragic, of what corporate wealth may do whether in the form of capitalized shares or capitalized cleverness. And just in proportion as a people as a whole becomes insensible to such perils as these, which may so easily threaten it through vast aggregations of capital capable of buying its way through senates as well as legislatures, does the danger grow more grave. That we are not more keenly sensitive to it; that we do not recognize, however skilfully draped, the forms in which it menaces us; that we are so often apparently so unconscious of its effects upon our own manners, habits, ideals, indulgences, aims, and aspirations, is, in one view of it, one of the most

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pathetic notes in our present situation. To live in an atmosphere of miasmatic poison, and not know that we are inhaling its deadly vapors; to have our highest standards of simplicity and frugality steadily enervated by an environment of luxury and self-indulgence; to behold our youth of both sexes becoming daily more exacting in their requirements in these directions, and more discontented if they are denied them; to trace in men's homes and women's dress the tokens of a wanton prodigality of expenditure as essentially licentious as it is vulgar; and to have all this heralded, week after week, month in and month out, by a still more vulgar press, whose tawdry and meretricious illustrations will be the horror, I hope, of future generations as they disinter them from the rubbish heaps of their past,—all this, verily, is dreary and disheartening enough. But make no mistake about it, it is neither the fault nor the fruit of the existence whether of the capitalist or of capital.

And to see this it is only necessary to turn our attention for a moment to the substitutes for our present condition of things which are proposed. Capital has various forms: it may be money, or machinery, or land, or bonds and stocks. A favorite theory for the solution of

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our great disparities and our often injustices, as by some they are believed to be, to the laborer as distinguished from the capitalist, is the annihilation of the private ownership, *e. g.*, of land, and so it has been proposed to abolish this private ownership, and to divide up the land among all the people. I shall not concern myself, now, with the equity of such a procedure, but simply with its results. Let us take as an example the country in which, coincidently with a relatively dense population and narrow boundaries, there have been supposed to be the largest areas of unimproved or unoccupied land held by a few wealthy owners,—I mean Great Britain. "In the minds of most of our extreme reformers," says Mr. W. H. Mallock in his "Labour and the Popular Welfare,"[1] "the income of the landlords figures as something limitless; and the landlords themselves as the representatives of all luxury. It is not difficult to account for this. To any one who studies the aspect of any of our rural landscapes, with a mind at all occupied with the problem of the redistribution of wealth, the things that will strike his eye most, and remain uppermost in his mind, are the houses and parks and woods belonging to the large land-

[1] Pp. 41-42.

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lords. Small houses and cottages, though he might see a hundred of them in a three-mile drive, he would hardly notice; but if, in going from York to London, he caught glimpses of twelve large castles, he would think that the whole of the Great Northern Railway was lined with them. And from impressions derived thus two beliefs have arisen,—first that the word 'landlord' is synonymous with 'large landlord;' and secondly, that large landlords own most of the wealth of the kingdom." Well, what are the facts? "If we take the entire rental—of the whole country—derived from land and compare it with the profits derived from trade and (invested) capital, we shall find that, so far as mere money is concerned, the land offers the most insignificant instead of the most important question that could engage us, and is, every year, in diametrical contradiction to the theories of Mr. Henry George, becoming more unimportant, as was some time ago pointed out by Professor Leone Levi; so that if all of it were divided in equal proportions to each adult in the whole nation, it would give each man about two pence a day, and each woman about three halfpence."

"Ah, yes," I hear some one say, "but we are

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not concerned about wealth and the accumulations of capital in other countries, but in our own. Granted for the moment that if it were possible to capitalize all the improved acres in our own land, it would yield no more than you have named, what will you say of those other enormous accumulations of wealth which are represented by mills and mines and factories, by railways and steamships and machinery, and by all the multiplied mechanisms of whose enormous profits we are from time to time hearing such amazing reports?" Well, my brother, I should say, in the first place, that in nine out of ten of these cases it would be well to verify these reports, and that then, whenever you have been able to do that, it would be well, still further, to recognize the fact that the popular impression that the vast majority of this wealth is held by comparatively a few persons is simply a grotesque delusion. To take a single instance which will answer for the whole, a careful statistician has lately shown [1] that the wage-earning classes, or those whose means do not exceed five hundred dollars per annum, own eight times as much of the wealth of the country as the multimillionaries, fourteen times as much as the mil-

[1] "The Laborer and the Capitalist," Willey, p. 262.

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lionaires, and, in a word, that the wealth of this class, which forms the basis and the over-whelming majority of those who compose our social structure, aggregates, to say the least, as much as all the several classes of the well-to-do, the rich, the very rich, and the phenomenal plutocrats put together.

In a word, it often happens, as Mr. Henry Wood in his "Political Economy of Humanism"[1] has admirably put it, that "by sentimental comparison there is a general feeling of relative poverty on account of existing great private fortunes. Men measure themselves among themselves. But no one is absolutely poorer, but rather richer, on account of existing wealth, even though it be controlled by private ownership. Every social unit in the body politic is, at least indirectly, better off for general accumulation. It is the human stock in trade, and its lines extend indefinitely in all directions."

It is a very common but inaccurate saying that "the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer." A superficial view may give such an impression, but any thorough research shows that the assertion that the poor are grow-

[1]Page 173.

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ing poorer can be proved to be false by actual statistics.

Indeed it would be easy, if there were in this connection adequate opportunity for it, to go a step further; and though I cannot, because of these limits, now advance to that step, let me at least indicate the direction in which it would tend. Some one who has followed me thus far might interpose at this point, "Very well, suppose that, for the sake of argument, one grants all that you have thus far urged, and acknowledges what wealth, whether in land or in other forms, in the hands of the few has done for the many. Will you deny that it would do a great deal more if, for the greater good, its administration were transferred from the hands of the few to the hands of the many? Or, in other words, if, instead of this monstrous disproportion between the wealth of a very few and the poverty of the many, all the land and stocks and bonds and ships and factories and railways, and all the rest of it, were put in one common purse and administered in precisely equal proportions for the good of the whole number, would not that be feasible, would it not be equitable, would it not, remembering the example, in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, of those who sold

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houses and lands and laid the price of them at the apostles' feet, be scriptural and primitive and Christian?" Well, to take the last question first, that would depend upon whether such an incident was meant to be the disclosure of a social law for the kingdom of God, or simply a special provision for a special emergency. As to that question I have myself no smallest doubt. That Christ came to annihilate private property, in the sense in which any Christian man understands these words who recognizes that all that he holds he holds as a trust from God, I do not believe that there is the slightest warrant for maintaining.

As to the other two questions there is no sufficient warrant for holding anything else than that there is an answer equally explicit. Would not, it is asked, this communism of property be equitable? Most surely not. By what rule of equity are the industrious called upon to surrender their earnings to the idle, the virtuous to the vicious, the temperate to the intemperate? We talk about the poverty that there is in the land, and the hardship with which it bears upon the poor. My revolutionary friend, before you pull down the pillars of our existing social order, suppose you ask who is responsible for it!

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Twenty years ago the money expended in the United States for liquor was $900,000,000 per annum. Would you care to trace that money to the pockets of the men who spent it, and learn who they were, and what difference their saving it would have made in their circumstances? And, when you have communized all the wealth in the land, can you give me any encouragement to believe that by that revolution you will have transformed human nature so as to make such a revolution an equitable thing?

But, as such considerations will have already suggested to you, they are practically superfluous, because a social order based upon the annihilation of property means a reversion to barbarism. Beautiful as I know it has seemed to multitudes of good and pure minds, it is not a workable scheme. Let us look at it a moment and see why.

That which has made civilization has been the service of *mind*. That which has created the opportunity for the works of genius has been a state of society which has not condemned all men equally to the same kinds of labor. But this is the essence of socialism. Not only must all work, but all must work substantially in the same way, at the same task, and the same hours.

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A clever writer has lately drawn for us a picture of a modern socialistic community assembled for the purpose of determining what is necessary, useful, and productive labor. The majority of this community is made up, as inevitably it must be, of precisely the same material as makes up the body of men who in a Pennsylvania or Virginia mining region make up a labor union. They are to vote as to what are the utilities of life. Do you suppose that the artist, the poet, the philosopher, the divine, would have any place among these? Does such a constitution of human society promise for it anything else than food, and drink, and clothing, and fuel? Do I task your imaginations very heavily in asking what such a community would say to you or me if we should say: "No, you must excuse me from sawing wood or boiling potatoes. I think such powers as I have can be better employed in writing a poem, or painting a picture, which will kindle in some other life the aspiration of noble living or heroic self-sacrifice." We know perfectly well that the answer would be: "My dear fellow, you are 'off your base.' The only fire we want you to kindle is the kitchen fire, and the only painting that in

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this society you are called upon to do is the barn door!"

And, indeed, in a society so constituted there would be no resources with which to compensate the poet and the painter, the scholar and the man of science; for such a society, having annihilated capital and effaced all traces of our present social order, would have only such resources at its command as such a mechanism would produce. The accumulated wealth of the land would all be distributed *per capita* to individuals, and all business, manufactures, transportation, and the like would be carried on by the government. If any one anticipates that such a system of doing the business of a nation would leave it anywhere but increasingly in debt, he has only to study the conduct of one large department of business conducted, as we are bound to believe, by the cleverest nation under the sun: I mean the American post-office department, which is conducted annually and habitually at a dead loss, and of which capital, in the form of taxes, annually makes up the deficit.

And so our modern civilization will be wise to recognize the fact that it cannot dispense with either capital or the capitalists. Your question and mine is rather the question: What

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should be the attitude of the citizen, as one recognizing his civic stewardship, to this element in our social structure and life? It is one, it is well for us to remember, which in the final analysis stands on precisely the same level as many another thing concerning which we have never thought it worth while to raise any such questions as those to which I have referred. In a word, capital is *stored force,* and, as such, falls under substantially the same law as any other stored force. The forces of nature—water, fire, electricity, and compressed air—may be stored forces; and, as such, as it may easily be seen, may be dangerous forces. I have already employed one of them in illustration of what I believe to be a sound philosophic position with reference to the whole question, but I might as readily have employed any other. Indeed, the familiar proverb, "Fire and water are good servants but bad masters," succinctly states the whole case, and is just as true of capital. In the case of great accumulations of any natural force, mere aggregation may become dangerous because, with the growth of accumulation, whether it be the accumulation of water or the storage of electricity, the possibilties of mischief from

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their unrestrained action are almost infinitely increased with the increase of volume.

And so it may be said, and said with truth, that great accumulations of capital may easily be, under certain conditions, a menace to society. They make it possible for the unscrupulous strong to buy, corrupt, or crush the timid weak. They make it possible for vast organizations—it is not of the smallest consequence whether we call them corporations, "trusts," "combines," or "corners"—to create fictitious values, on the one hand, and to destroy those that are real on the other. They make it easy, often, to produce a fictitious scarceness of the necessaries of life where there is none, and practically to annihilate values when weaker men refuse to yield to their decrees. And so there has come to pass, more than once in the business world, substantially such a situation as a clever and accurate mind among ourselves has lately shown to be not at all unlikely in the wider realm of the world's politics. In a striking essay,[1] published not long ago, Mr. Brooks Adams points out that, practically within the last decade, the industrial relations of the United States to the rest of the

[1] "Reciprocity or the Alternative"—"The Atlantic Monthly" August, 1901.

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civilized world have been wholly revolutionized, and that the republic is now marching with giant strides toward the almost universal industrial conquest of the whole of Europe. But I will let this brilliant and cogent writer speak for himself. "Between 1897 and 1901," he says, "the average excess of American exports over imports has risen to $510,000,000 yearly. The amount tends, for excellent reasons, to increase. Just now America can undersell Europe in agricultural products; she can likewise undersell Europe in minerals as raw material; she can undersell Europe in most branches of manufactured iron and steel, besides many minor classes of wares. On the present basis, there seems to be no reason to doubt that, as time goes on, America will drive Europe more and more from neutral markets, and will, if she makes the effort, flood Europe herself with goods at prices with which Europeans cannot compete. Should the movement of the next decade correspond to the movement of the last, Europe will, at its close, stand face to face with ruin."

Does this sagacious observer believe that Europe will acquiesce in any such catastrophe? Not in the smallest degree. And the essay from which I have quoted is mainly an argument to

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prove that, forced to face such an issue, Europe will resort to one of two alternatives—reciprocity treaties or war; and he then proceeds to point out how extremely dubious, so far as our future prosperity or even survival as a world-power is concerned, the latter of these alternatives would be, should we decline the former; since, to mention only a single item in the problem, the United States, with its long and practically utterly defenceless coasts, has 520,000 tons of warships; and France, Germany, and Russia, 2,893,000 (practically three million) tons of warships!

The value of the whole argument in its relation to that with which I am now concerned lies just here; that, just as nations have said from time to time all the way along and will continue to say to some one of their number, grown strong and great and powerful, "You shall not grow too strong, too great, too powerful!" and say it with the force of that mighty multitude that pulls down thrones and disrupts empires and disperses fleets and armies, just so that other mighty multitude, the *people,* will surely say to capital grown too great and powerful, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther; and that thy power may no longer be a menacing giant or a

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corrupting cancer, we will see to it that, except as the common servant and common possession of all the people owned in common, employed in common, and dispensed in common, you shall exist no more."

Well, we have seen already what promise there is in any such reform, whether for the individual or the state. Is there not, in dealing with this great problem, another and a better way? It is here, my brothers, as I conceive, that your relation and mine to this whole question becomes apparent. There are two questions which, as it seems to me, the world has a right to ask of every rich man, and upon the answer to which should depend the recognition which he receives. And the first of these questions is: "How did you get your money?" A large part of the wide-spread hostility to men of wealth takes its rise just here, and because of a wide-spread suspicion that many of the colossal fortunes of which one hears represent, on the part of those who have acquired them, nothing but cunning—sometimes dishonest, often unscrupulous, and oftener still, selfish and heartless cunning. It is this fact, I am persuaded, which is, quite as often as otherwise, at the bottom of that stern challenge of the working man as he

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looks at the capitalist. "What I have, meagre as it is, I worked for, and it is the product of my labor; but you—what toil have you given that entitles you to returns so tremendously disproportioned to mine, or indeed, to any return at all? You are not a laborer, but an idler."

Now, Mr. Mallock has shown in the volume from which I have already quoted [1] that there is, just here, a very common and a very grave confusion of ideas, based upon the notion that that only is labor which is manual or muscular; whereas "Human exertion as applied to the production of wealth is of two distinct kinds: Ability and Labor,—the former being essentially moral or mental exertion, only incidentally muscular; the latter being mainly muscular, and only moral or mental in a comparatively unimportant sense. This difference between them, however, though accidentally it is always present, and is what first strikes the observation, is not the fundamental difference.

"The fundamental difference is of quite another kind. It lies in the following fact: That Labor is a kind of exertion on the part of the individual which begins and ends with each separate task it is employed upon, whilst Ability

[1] "Labor and the Popular Welfare."

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is a kind of exertion on the part of the individual which is capable of effecting simultaneously the labor of an indefinite number of individuals, and thus of hastening or perfecting the accomplishment of an indefinite number of tasks.'"[1]

Mr. Mallock might have put the difference much more strongly than this. It is a wild night at sea, and a seaman is lying out on the yard-arm, striving to reef a huge sail which threatens, before he can secure it in its place, to tear him from his perch and fling him to the waves. Below him, on the bridge, stands the commander of the vessel, thundering his quick, sharp commands in swift and close succession; and then, when the emergency is ended, handing his speaking-trumpet to the subordinate who stands beside him and going to his cabin and his berth. "That man," thinks the sailor, "is paid $250 per month for his work, and I am paid $20, and which of us works the harder?" Could the seaman follow his commander to his pillow he would find out. When he himself has finished his watch, and crawled down into his berth, does he give the ship, for the time being,

[1] "Labor and the Popular Welfare," W. H. Mallock, pp. 145-146.

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another thought? But how is it with the commander?

And this question we may ask with equal fitness concerning those captains of industry, of greater and lesser degree, who plan and organize and foresee and forecast; and without whose labors, not of eight hours a day, but of fourteen or eighteen often, there would be no ships to sail, nor mines to delve, nor factories to run, nor tasks for the vast majority of working men to do at all. If such men are paid more than the day-laborer, it is because—let us not hesitate in the most explicit terms to say so—they have earned more.

But it is quite another question with which we are confronted when we have to do with that class of capitalists whose manipulations of values have essentially no quality that is different from the legerdemain of a card-sharper, and whose directional chicanery in connection with great corporations is one of the deepest stains upon our modern commercial and financial honor. Let me be explicit here, and clear myself, if I may, from the charge of mere rhetorical exaggerations. I claim that the capitalist with whom honest men can hold no honest converse

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is he, *e. g.*, who, being a manager or director or stockholder in some particular corporation,—

(*a*) By manipulation of the stock market, in collusion with certain others like himself in the secret, artificially depresses values to the hurt and loss of fellow-investors; or who,

(*b*) Being in the direction of some vast corporation, railway, mining, or other, withholds regular reports, statements, and information for his own personal advantage; or who,

(*c*) Employs complicated, intricate, and obscure systems of bookkeeping which, though not technically fraudulent, deceive or mislead those who have a right to truthful and accurate information.

No one who hears me can be ignorant of the fact that by methods such as these great fortunes have been made, and are being made, of which it is sufficient to say that they do not honestly belong to their possessors.

A much wider field is opened, however, as to wealth unjustly acquired, and vast fortunes wrung from the hand of toil, in connection with the history of the matter of wages and the modes of paying them; the homes of laboring people owned by great manufacturing corporations; the rents that have been extorted for them; and the

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horrible conditions in which those who were forced to live in them were compelled to exist. They are facts such as these that we are called to remember when we regard, as great multitudes of people do, the embittered and resentful attitude of the working classes as fanatical or unreasonable. A writer who saw them, and who has placed on record the story of what he found, quotes this as the official record taken from a report of the State Board of Health as to the laborers' homes in what he describes as the most advanced State of the Union—Massachusetts: "In a single building in the town of W——, thirty-two feet long, twenty wide, three stories high, with attics, habitually exist thirty-nine people of all ages. For their common use there is one pump and one privy, within twenty feet of each other, with the drainage of the several sinks of the house discharging near by. The windows are without weights, and the upper sashes are immovable. No other provision is made for fresh air. Scores of similar overcrowded and uncleanly tenements exist and could be cited. It is well attested," continues the report, "that there commonly exist, in connection with the homes of the laboring classes everywhere, filthy and insufficient privies, with

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overflowing vaults, unhinged doors, and rotten floors; cesspools, sink-drains, and sewers, broken or surcharged, the foul discharges permeating the soil in the immediate vicinity of wells and cisterns; cellars where dampness and decay are doing a constant work of death, and yet are often inhabited; enclosures made pestilential by the causes mentioned and pig-pens and garbage tubs; while stairs and passageways are carpeted and draped with dirt of every nature." And then, by way of fastening the people who live in such houses, and who work for the corporations by which they are owned, in an iron bondage to their employers, there has been devised what is known as the truck system. "It is a common thing," says the author of "Wealth and Progress," "in the manufacturing centres, even in the Eastern States, to find a large per cent. of the laborers practically in a state of pawn to the corporation for which they work. The tenements in which they live, the store at which they trade, as well as the factory in which they work, are all, directly or indirectly, in the hands of the employer.

"By this means the store-book and the pay-roll are made to keep pace with each other, and a large per cent. of the laborers scarcely ever re-

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ceive a dollar in money, often being permanently in debt to the corporation, for which the latter holds a mortgage on their household effects! Thus the laborers are tethered to the spot, unless they go forth as tramps, leaving their furniture behind them, or, as is commonly the case, steal away in the night."[1] And yet we say that we have no slavery in the land, and resent as a grotesque exaggeration the application of the term "white slave."

Let me make haste to add that I am perfectly well aware of what some one may, perhaps, angrily seek to interject at this point; namely, that I am describing a condition of things which, whether in Massachusetts or anywhere else, has largely ceased to be, and which appropriate legislation has, to-day, made largely impossible. Undoubtedly this is true, and we may well thank God and a few brave men and women for it; but the dreary fact which makes what I have recited still pertinent to this whole discussion is, that reform in this awful business was not instituted by the capitalist or the stockholder; and that, as a rule, changes were made and conditions were bettered, not by the spontaneous action of the people who hired the workmen and drew the

[1] "Wealth and Progress," George Gunton, pp. 367-369.

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dividends, but by others who were, as a rule, wholly outside of the whole business, and to whose insistent demands, backed by legal authority, mill-owners and stockholders only tardily and reluctantly surrendered.

And so I maintain that the primary questions to be addressed to the capitalist always and everywhere are:

1. Where did such wealth as you are in control of come from? How was it made? Whom did the making of it rob or wrong? What claim have you upon the respect of honest men, or to the companionship of decent people, until you can answer these questions?

2. And then, next to these, comes the equally pertinent question, which it should be the office of a wholesome and rightly constituted society, but most of all of that divine society which we call the kingdom of God in the world, to press: "What are you going to do with it?"

To that question, ordinarily, there are three distinct answers:

1. The first of these, to put it in its coarsest and commonest form, would be, "I am going to enjoy myself—I am going to have a good time. I am going to gratify wants which I have in common with my kind, which I see being grati-

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fied about me on every hand, without stint and in every form;" and, says the modern political economist of a certain type, "I am going to do this because it is not only agreeable to me, but good for the community. You may inveigh against extravagance, luxurious expenditure, prodigality in dress or equipage, in palaces or in jewels, as much as you please, but a sound political economy will demonstrate that without luxury there is no art, and that without profuse expenditure just so much less is distributed among those who toil or combine to supply the demands of such expenditure." The question introduced here, as you will realize, is really large enough for a volume in itself; and to those who would peruse it in detail—and there never was an age which more urgently demanded that the whole subject should be probed to its foundations—I would commend the admirable treatise by Emile de Laveleye, which, because it is the work of one of a nation that, more than any other, at any rate in modern times, has contributed to the deification and spread of luxury, is all the more competent to estimate and discuss the whole question.[1] Says M. de Laveleye in stating the question at issue: "A financier

[1] "Luxury," by Emile de Laveleye, London, 1891.

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and an economist of the last century held entirely different opinions on this subject. 'I maintain, for my part,' said the financier, 'that it is luxury which upholds states.' 'Yes,' replied the economist, 'just as the executioner upholds the hanged man.' " There could not well be a more comprehensive statement of the whole case. The spectacle of a hanged man is of value only in so far as it shows what may wisely be avoided.

And the reasons for such avoidance ought not to be far to seek. If it were attempted to be maintained that the prevalence of luxury promoted traffic, stimulated art, circulated money, and the like, the obvious question must be, How far are any, or all, of these ends a sufficient warrant for the production of effects concerning which, as far as the great mass of human society is concerned, there is absolutely no debatable ground? Of the effect of luxury upon those who indulge in it the pages of history, from the time of Heliogabalus down and on, are full. As enervating character, as debauching morals, as threatening—nay, destroying—the purity of the family and the integrity of the individual, there is no other single influence that can surpass it, if there is any that can equal it. Ask

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any experienced worker among lost and outcast women what, in the case of young girls, has been most productive in inducing those awful lapses that consist in the prostitution of the human body, and they will tell you what madness seizes upon the young when the lust of personal display is appealed to by a gold brooch or a pair of diamond earrings. And when you have constituted a social order in which these things are the prizes of the highest; when you have filled your current literature with portraits and descriptions which are continually dwelling upon and apostrophizing it; when, in one word, you have made a life in which these things are the much coveted and idolized popular ambitions, the question must needs come straight home to every man and woman among us, "If I have wealth, how far am I warranted in indulging this craze, in feeding this passion, whether in myself or others, or in using great expenditure, in whatever form, to promote the creation of a standard by which no good end is served, and every bad and base passion inflamed and stimulated?" I am entirely willing to admit every word that can be said in behalf of luxury as the promoter of art: but when it has all been said, what answer can one make to these words written, not by

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some austere and ascetic hand, but by Ernest Renan, a Frenchman first, and not a Christian at all. "The mistake," says Renan, "lies not in proclaiming industry to be good and useful, but in attaching too much importance to the pursuit of perfection in certain details. In minor matters, once a good thing has been produced, it is little worth while to improve upon it indefinitely. For, if the aim of human life is happiness, this has been very well realized in the past without these superfluities; and if, as the wise think with good reason, it is moral and intellectual grandeur which alone is necessary, these accessories contribute very little to it. History affords us examples of high intellectual attainments and a golden age of happiness which have been reached by men whose material state was crude enough. The Brahmins in India, while still living, as far as exterior civilization was concerned, on the level of the most backward societies, attained an order of philosophical speculation which Germany alone, in our days, has been able to surpass. The ideal of the Gospel [think of this from Renan!], unique and unsurpassable, in which the moral sense is wrought out with the most marvellous delicacy, takes us into the midst of a life as simple as that of our

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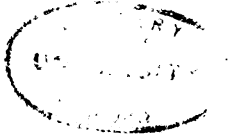

rural solitudes, a life in which the complication of exterior things finds but little place. Far from the progress of art running parallel with the progress made by any nation in the tastes for the comforts of life, we may say without paradox, that those times and those countries in which the comforts (and luxuries) of life have become the main object of society, have been the least highly gifted in the things of art."[1]

2. "But again," the modern capitalist may declare, "I have no ambition for accumulated wealth to spend it in display, but I do desire it to relieve myself and those nearest me from labor and indigence. I want a handsome competence for myself, and enough to provide the same for my children." It would be interesting to ask such an one what is his conception of a "handsome competence." It has lately been authoritatively declared that, in our chief American city, no one really "lives" on less than one hundred thousand dollars a year! To secure this he must have for himself a capital of at least two and a half millions; and as much for each of his children. And when it is secured, what will be its effect upon him and upon them? "Relieved of the necessity of painful effort,"

[1] "Renan, "Essays on Morals and Criticism."

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such a man first, and still more his children, "will undergo only such efforts as are easy; so the habit of hard work disappears, and with it the zest of enjoyment which the reaction from hard work brings. The higher kinds of concentrated mental effort, with their corresponding enjoyments, go first; then the lower; even the physical exercises, involving still constant practice and play of mind, yield," as the author of "The Social Problem" has put it;[1] "and the independent gentleman, as he styles himself, becomes a social parasite, an idler in the school of life, sooner or later, if not a degenerate, a 'detrimental,' mischievous, obnoxious, and altogether incongruous with a healthy human society."

3. But, finally, it may be said by the capitalist: "No, I do not want wealth for any of these things; I want it for power. I see that it can buy not only pleasure but influence, not only splendor but precedence, not only dogs and horses but legislatures and senates, and I want to be a man of power."

Alas, that there should be so much of truth in such declarations! But in them you and I see the supreme danger of capital to our time. It is an age, in a sense never before reached, I appre-

[1] "The Social Problem," p. 116.

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hend, in the republic, of purchasable men; and whole civic communities are nowadays said to be owned and administered, so far as both the law-making and executive mechanisms of society are concerned, by the capitalists. I am thankful to believe for myself that such a statement is an exaggeration, but it points to our common danger and it calls you and me to our common duty. Great forces are dangerous. Do not covet them. Do not cringe to them; but most of all, realize that a right estimate of the duties of citizenship calls on it to seek how to disarm and control them.

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THE CONSUMER

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IV

THE CONSUMER

I AM to speak to you finally, of the citizen and the Consumer. And the conjunction, obviously, must be copulative and not antithetical. One can imagine a listener, who has followed us thus far in this discussion, as saying to himself, "Well, all this is more or less interesting and curious, but it has nothing to do directly with me. I cannot be grouped with either of the great classes referred to in it, and I may leave the questions involved in that academic realm in which, so far as I am concerned, they both largely belong."

But, my brother, you cannot do that when it comes, in our modern social mechanism, to the duties and responsibilities of the consumer. There you cannot put yourself outside of distinct and personal responsibility. No matter how modest your consumption, you are nevertheless a consumer. The citizen cannot be a citizen

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without being a consumer as well. In fact, if such be not the case the whole industrial fabric crumbles into ruin.

The capitalist and the working man alike imply, by an inevitable necessity, the consumer. They do not exist for themselves alone; and, if left to themselves, would equally perish. The capitalist must find somewhere the fields that invite the activities whether of his mills or his bank accounts; and the working man depends, in the final analysis, for his daily wage upon the consumer who purchases the products or utilizes the mechanisms which his labor has produced. It is an impressive thought, when you buy your ticket and go on board an ocean steamer, what a vast series of causes and effects you have helped to set in operation, reaching down at last to some forge-fire, or the subterranean depths of some coal-mine, that you will never see and have never dreamed of.

But when this is said, there is a class of teachers who have held that *all* has been said that could be said. In other words, what has been called, and I think on the whole justly, though of late in certain quarters the name has been repudiated, the "Manchester School" of political economists have maintained that, in regard to

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the various questions of supply and demand, the conditions on which they depend, the problems which they involve, and the effects, especially upon wage-earners, which they produce, the consumer, as such, has no concern, and need charge himself with no responsibility. And this is not at all, let me say, because of any deliberate indifference or inhumanity upon the part of the capitalist or employer who holds such opinions, but because he himself, equally with the wage-earner, is, as he holds, the subject of certain inexorable laws of supply and demand, which must operate because of inexorable conditions behind them, and with which mere benevolence is powerless to interfere.

The growth of such a doctrine is not difficult to trace, nor the causes which produced it. They are, in one word, the result of what I have already elsewhere described as the great industrial revolution of the last century. Mr. Hobson, in his "Social Problem," has pointed out four great changes which the industrial revolution brought about, the influence of which upon the constitution and problems of modern society is as yet only imperfectly recognized. To one of these I have already referred in another connection, in indicating the changes, tremendous in

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their effects upon the business of the world and upon the individual worker, of the introduction into the domains of manufacture, transportation, and the like of machinery. One of these changes involved altogether new demands upon the working man; new conditions in the performance of personal service; and new restrictions in the area of personal activities and contacts. If you would understand what I mean, consider, *e. g.*, the daily life of a man who at the beginning of the last century worked at a loom, and at the end of it worked in a factory. In the former case, the loom was ordinarily in his own house, the material was of his own purchase, and the product, whether for wear or for sale, was his own property. Did you ever linger in an old-fashioned shoemaker's shop and watch and talk to him? Did you ever discover how much shrewd wisdom, how much sound (as well as sometimes very unsound) philosophy he had hammered out of his lapstone? Did you ever follow him matching, measuring, piecing, paring his material until, as you noted step by step of his progress, you found yourself arrested and fascinated by its cleverness, its resource, its variety, its final triumph in complex achievement? Such a worker, remember now, was a

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type of the great body of workers not a great while ago; and, constant and assiduous as might be his labor, it had in it the elements of contrivance, of variety, and, best of all, of coincident human contacts, relaxing to the mind, stimulating to the curiosity, and more or less satisfying to the social instincts. Now then, go from such an one to a great factory where a thousand men are employed. There are social contacts there, if by such a term you mean the neighborhood of other figures in the vast and thunderous and inexorable mechanism. But *it* never pauses, nor they; it never speaks to them, and they rarely or never to one another; it affords to the cleverest craftsman among them all only a fixed routine, invariable, determinate, and unyielding. He must adjust his movements to it; it will not alter its for him. If he follows all day long in stolid and slavish obedience, it will do its task, which is his. If he gets in its way, it will still crash onward in blind and relentless fury, and sometimes it will kill him. This is the relation of the working man to the machine.

But another element in our modern industrial situation is the result of the demands of the machine. When the capitalist has discovered that he can make a thousand axes a day instead of a

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dozen, he must straightway set about finding a market for them; and when, by the extension of commerce and the opening of new countries and the promotion of free trade, he has succeeded in creating a demand not only for one thousand but for ten thousand axes a day, he must bend and drive and crowd the laborers that produce them. And here we come upon one of the most revolutionary influences that have touched our modern life. For, as commerce and manufactures pushed each other farther and farther afield; as, in other words, the demand of new mechanisms and new markets grew and widened, they ended in devouring not merely men and women, but children. One of the most tragic pages in the history of modern industrialism is that which is concerned with the exploiting of child labor—of boys in mines, and of girls in factories, etc. Happily, in those cases where it was most eagerly undertaken, it has at length, though tardily, been limited and, in some measure, regulated by law. But the children who, when they came out of the factory at the end of their day's or half a day's work, were so exhausted that the food prepared for them had sometimes to be put in their mouths, were but one illustration of a situation whose

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horrors those of slavery, in lands where slavery has existed, never exceeded, if on the whole they ever matched.

And, for a long time, the state of the worker both in this country and in England was no better, not only in regard to children, but to women; and concerning these, under circumstances, and with elements of shameful brutality which, here, I may not name. In some respects these conditions have been amended; but in others they are, in our great cities, as merciless, health-destroying and soul-destroying as they have ever been in any most crowded factory town in other lands. And men and women who directly or indirectly profit by the miseries of these poor creatures are, too widely, wholly indifferent to them.

But still another result of this enormous industrial development has been the growth of huge and congested communities, and what has aptly been called the severance or weakening of the personal nexus (*a*) between employers and employed, and (*b*) between sellers and buyers. As to the former of these, no change which has come to pass in our times has been in its nature more serious, or in its results more menacing. It may be stated as a general principle

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that there is no one thing which could contribute more effectually to the weakening and ultimate disintegration of society than the loss out of it of the personal element. How precious this is let me ask you to test out of your own experience. The ordinary contacts of the ordinary individual, who is not himself an employer of labor, with working men are oftener than otherwise in travel. Our great railway and waterway systems, all around the world, employ millions of men who—did it ever occur to you?—never, from first to last, come into contact with an employer. They come into contact, indeed, with underlings like themselves, who are in turn the creatures of a vast and relentless mechanism which is crying to them forever, like Dickens's policeman to the waif in the street, "Move on! move on!" But, beyond that, their working life is a dull mechanical round from first to last, from day to day, from week to week. Try, now, when the opportunity comes to you, to touch one of these lives with your own, and you will be strangely unobservant or insensible if you do not find something responding to you, often with a startled surprise which is almost like a dead faculty coming to life again. The whole man, incased by routine, driven by corporate com-

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mands, number 549,871 if you please, finds to his delighted amazement that you are not reckoning him in, after all, as no more than a mere cog in the wheel. And yet, as a matter of fact, the vast system of our industrial life has practically reduced him to that.

"Well, what of it?" says the disciple of the Manchester doctrine. "What are you going to do about it? How are you going to remedy it? Really, if you hypersensitive people will stop and reflect about it you will see that your objections to such a condition of things, your insistence that they are not to be endured, your demand that they shall be remedied, are just as essentially absurd as that of the passenger on shipboard who, having stood out on the forward deck in some searching and freezing northeaster, when the bleak and bitter winds were cutting him to the bone, should insist that the captain and the third officer, who were enduring the same hardships on the bridge above him, should come down with him and go to bed. Somebody must stay on the bridge. Some few must face the hardships of the storm for the safety and comfort of all. Some lives must be sacrificed in mining coal and weaving cloth and welding iron. The commerce of the world cannot stand

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still. In all great enterprises there is a certain element of necessary waste. In all successful enterprises somebody is sure to fall by the way; but the column must move on."

This policy in our industrial life has been baptized with many names: whatever they are, *laissez faire,* necessarian, or the good of the greatest number, they are of the devil, and deserve, as Jesus did with devils, to be cast out. For when we come to trace the history of a great deal of our modern industrial enterprises, the saddest note in it all is its note of a consistent indifferentism. Allowances were undoubtedly to be made in the beginning, when the whole situation was new, and its effects upon the individual worker imperfectly recognized. But the misery of it has been that, from first to last, what our great manufacturing or commercial interests have done for the wage-earner in the way of minimizing the hardships and, sometimes, the horrors of labor, has been done, as a rule,—I do not forget that there have been some splendid exceptions,—but as a rule, solely and only at the stern demand of the law. Somebody's attention has been arrested; at last somebody's sympathy has been touched, somebody's hot indignation has been aroused; and then at length,

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and too often slowly and reluctantly, the needed relief has been provided.

It is at this point, I entreat you to recognize, that there enters *the responsibility of the consumer* —and yours and mine therefore—in this whole situation. The theory of industrial economics to which I have referred says to those of us who are outside of its technical workings: "This is none of your business. You could not do anything if you would. The whole matter of the conditions of labor is governed by inexorable laws, and first of all by the law of supply and demand, and you are powerless to alter or amend them. Stand aside!"

Well, the time has come to challenge that imperious tone, and the consumer's business it is, I maintain to do so. You will see, I trust, now, why I have led you by this long and, it may have seemed to some of you, extremely circuitous route to the point to which we have now come. Either the consumer has some responsibility as to the conditions under which that which he consumes is produced, or he has not. To that question political economy—at any rate, political economy of the elder school—has a clear and explicit answer: *He has not.* "Men of humane culture," as Mr. John A. Hobson has described

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them,[1] "smitten with social compunction, and hard-headed, self-educated working men, have turned for light and leading to text-books of economic science, and have found darkness; have gone for bread, and have received the stones of arid, barren, academic judgments." Professors of economics resent this criticism and reply: "What you ask does not come within our province. You come saying, 'Prophesy unto us.' Here is a mass of unemployed people; tell us some *safe* way of utilizing their labor. Here is a deadlock between labor and capital; suggest *fair* terms of settlement." Of late the political economist has been in the habit of rubbing his hands in deprecating fashion and telling us, "Political economy is a science; we are not practitioners." I do not affirm this of some of the greatest masters of the science of political economy such as Adam Smith, Mather, Ricardo, or, even later, of John Stuart Mill and Jevons; but too often the teacher of political economy has been content to "tread delicately in the intricate mazes of historical research and currency, and to do much subtle theorizing about terminology and method," and to do no more.

[1] "The Social Problem," p. 18.

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All this doubtless should be done, but not the other left undone.

And here, therefore, I repeat, enters your responsibility and mine who are consumers. One of the first questions with which, in all our commercial transactions with our neighbor, we must needs be concerned is the question of cost. The query is not only is such and such a thing useful or beautiful or agreeable to the taste; but the further question, and very often the final question is, "What does it cost?" But that is plainly, as a little reflection must show us, a question which concerns not alone ourselves and the measure of our own resources, but, in another and really much higher sense of the term "cost," the producer or producers of the things offered to us. Whether or not we can command the money with which to purchase this or that or the other thing, is one question; whether we are willing, or, whether willing or not, whether we *ought* to incur the responsibility of purchasing it, and so encouraging its continued production by our complicity in the business of its production, in utter and absolute indifference to the conditions of cost in its production in which are involved its producers, is quite another thing. Here, *e. g.*, is a pearl which a woman wears with

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others strung about her neck, and which has been obtained at almost priceless cost in some deep-sea soundings far away. To find it or something like it, the diver took his life in his hand, and often lost it. If, now, this pearl were some precious remedy for a malignant and deadly disease, and the sacrifice of this one life could hope to secure the rescue from that disease of at least two others, straightway the question would assume a wholly different aspect. But when it is of no such use, nor any other, save for the purpose of mere personal adornment; if often at such appalling risks it represents nothing more than art can construct to-morrow with such exquisite skill and perfection as to deceive the most critical observer, then the sacrifice of life for such an end ought, I venture to submit, to make its vain and bedizened wearer, as she flaunts this prize, stained often with the life-blood of a fellow-creature, in the face of her less opulent sisters, at least occasionally somewhat uncomfortable.

And the tragedy of such an illustration is that it is but the parable, in little, of a whole situation of which our manufacturing industries, all round the world, are the constant and deadly duplicate. I am trying to make you *think,* and

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not merely shiver, and so I shall not ask you to follow me along that long and ghastly pathway which runs through so many of our domestic industries that produce the things we wear, the things we eat and drink, the things with which we garnish our persons and our homes. But it must be known to most of us that there are whole groups of manufactures which, in their effect upon the worker, are simply deadly. The gases that he breathes, the poisons that menace the lungs and the blood, the tasks that can be performed only by the sacrifice ultimately of the eyes, or by the shattering of the nervous system, all these are enemies to the physical powers of the working man which are matters of common knowledge.

And as we ascend above them to those conditions of our industrial life which are inimical to his intellectual life, the case is even more serious. We have been busy for the last fifty years, and increasingly busy during the present generation, in widening the mental horizon of the wage-earner. Our system of popular education, on which we greatly pride ourselves as a glory of our American civilization, is in its extent and in the variety of its component parts a striking contrast to the public schools in which the ma-

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jority of the American people were reared half a century ago. The three R's included, then, the most of it. But to-day, if we reckon in the higher departments of our public schools, the range of subjects is all but collegiate in its extent and its variety. Now it is an enormous enlargement of the mental horizon which has come into the life of a youth who has been thus educated.

But the inexorable conditions of modern life, as of that which from the beginning has preceded it, ordain that the graduate or the pupil of this system, oftener than otherwise, earns a livelihood with his or her hands. Eager as those scientifically trained may be to turn their backs upon manual labor,—and the pathetic struggle to get away from it is one of the most painful and perplexing notes of modern life,—there is, after all, for the great majority no possible opportunity. If they had the aptitudes for other than manual labor, there are not, in the great majority of cases, the openings for it; and of those who find them a considerable proportion fall back, soon, to the level of the mere hand-worker, because, in spite of all their striving, they cannot bring themselves abreast of the average standard of remunerative competency. And all

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this is, in a sense, we say, and say rightly, as it should be. The tools to him who can use them. The task to him who can perform it. The release from the work of a day-laborer to the man who has something more than the capacity for only hand work.

But what of him who has striven to rise above mere hand work, and has fallen back? He may own the justice of the verdict which decrees him, in the higher realms of life's tasks, an incapable; but, as he takes up the tasks which fall to him in some lower realm, he brings to them, unfortunately for him, the tastes, the visions, at least the perceptions which have been wakened in him by his earlier and ampler culture. And he cannot strangle these. If your ear has been educated to distinguish in music a harmony from a discord; if your eye has been trained to discern the difference between true and false proportions; if your mind, in one word, has been taught to know, however imperfectly, the delights of those intellectual companionships which, as you move among them with some choice volume in your hand, make you conscious for a little while that you are communing with the world's best, can you forget all that, and, because your place and your task are lowly ones, make yourself as

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though all the other had never been? Let him who has tried it answer that question, for no one else can.

When the question of shortening the hours of labor is raised, I hear men speak of it, sometimes, with a tone of almost savage resentment: "Eight hours for a man's working day!" it is said. "Why not make it four or two at once? How much farther is this unscrupulous pressure for the abbreviation of the working day to go? What is to become of our industries, our commerce, our productive capacity, in competition with other nations, if you continue to advance in this direction? Do you not see that demands so unreasonable as those which are now being made by the working man and his friends menace the whole foundations of our industrial and commercial prosperity, and threaten to leave us a bankrupt nation, with no money to pay the working man or anybody else? Will you brush these questions, which are fundamental to the whole business, aside, as if they were of no consequence, and persist in a course of utterly Utopian revolution?"

No; for myself, at any rate, I answer, I would brush no one of these questions aside, nor underestimate their substantial importance. There

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is, undoubtedly, a point beyond which you cannot reduce the hours of labor without danger to that for which, and by which, labor itself exists. The question is undoubtedly one which needs to be dealt with in a spirit of careful scrutiny, and upon the basis of a wide generalization of demonstrable facts. But behind it rise other questions which are interwoven with it, and on which finally (to urge no higher motive for considering them) the enduring efficiency of the working man depends. I shall not attempt here to deal with the problem of the practical abbreviation as it relates to the question of the adequate and economical product of a day's labor or of the laborers' working hours. But this at least is certain: there must be, if you are to have, in connection with any task on earth, an effective workman, time for something else, and more, than work and eating and sleeping. Such a life sooner or later makes of a man an imbecile or a brute. Such a life drives a man to drink as straight and surely, oftentimes, as if you or I, when his day's work was done, led him with our own hands to the rum-shop, where he snatched the one little fragment of change and excitement which his whole life affords. And for such a life, just in so far as he connives at it, or toler-

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ates it, or is partaker of the cheapened fruits of it, without protest or denunciation, the consumer is responsible.

But man is not made up of body and mind only. The image of God in him is his moral nature, and the rescue or ruin of this is of incomparably more consequence than anything that can befall his carcass or his mere reason. For these may perish here, and yet the nobler part of man survive beyond. And so, when we are brought face to face with the influence of modern industrialism upon the souls of those who are the subjects of it, the situation is, of all the others, the most grave. What is it? Well, the history of factory towns for the last fifty years, in both hemispheres, is the answer to that question. It is a matter for profound thankfulness that, owing often to the heroic efforts of a few devoted men and women, these conditions are so much better than, for a long time, they were: but that the promiscuous herding of men and women, boys and girls, in degrading and grossly indecent proximity; the exposure of the young and uncorrupted to tainting and corrupting intimacies with the debauched and demoralized; the gross disregard of the most elementary conditions of refinement

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and decorum, in sanitary provisions that were simply and horribly barbaric; and the wholly unlicensed prevalence of vice and intemperance, were among these conditions, no one who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself with them will care to deny.

And, even when these were absent, the situation, among the great mass of the working classes, has been little better. It was early urged that if decenter homes and a cleaner environment were given to working men and their families, the situation would be greatly improved; and much disappointment has been expressed when, after, as in some instances has been the case, costly and elaborate experiments have been made in the shape of model villages, these experiments have issued in meagre and unsatisfactory results. For this, however, there is a twofold reason which is, or ought to be, altogether intelligible. In the first place, character in the highest sense is not created by environment. It may be enriched and safeguarded by it. But it ought to be obvious to us that if we could in a moment by the wave of some magic wand, transport every working man in the civilized world, with his family but without his poverty-stricken belongings, into a palace, we

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could not by that means make of him a good citizen, a faithful husband and father, or an upright man. In fact, the probabilities are that his new surroundings would be, to such an one and to those who immediately pertained to him, an intolerable *géne;* and that, with his wife and children, he would, as indeed has been the case in more than one such instance, abandon them for surroundings which, however inferior in respects which you and I should prize, had to him the incomparable attraction of being both congenial and familiar.

"Congenial and familiar." Do we realize what the words stand for? Do we recognize, that is to say, the stern fact that, if we are going to lift men, we must begin with the *man* and not with his home; that we must awake and educate in him a love of decency, of purity, of chastity—of righteousness, in one word, which will make him impatient of an environment that degrades and embrutes him; and that until we have somehow done that we may build ten thousand model villages, and the last will be as barren and impotent for any transforming influence as the first?

And that consideration brings me to that other aspect of the whole matter to which I have

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just referred. Have you ever driven through a New England town; and did it ever occur to you to imagine that the beauty and cleanliness, the shaded charm, the scrupulous neatness, the note of a true refinement, touching alike the cottage and the mansion, were not at all the product of the rules and regulations of the municipality, but of something infinitely more potent than any mere civic machinery,—a high *ideal* in the individual? "Those oaks? My grandfather planted them. These shrubs? My mother watched and pruned them with an eye that never overlooked, and a hand that never tired. That noble stretch of woodland crowning yonder hill? Yes, we are poorer than we were in the old days, but *those* woods are not for sale!" Well might the Vermont stage-driver reply to the curious foreigner who, riding behind him on the box of the stage-coach, asked as he looked off on a rugged New England landscape, "What do you raise here?" "Sir, we raise *men!*"

Well, in the final summing up, it all comes to that. You may have an industrial system that raises men, or, on the other hand, one that ruins them. And if it is not to ruin them, it must call to its aid some mightier force than money. For

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that, when we follow most of our modern specifics for the moral redemption of the working man, is all that has thus far been offered him. A friend of clear insight and careful observation who went, not a great many years ago, in the company of the founder and builder of one of those model villages to visit it, gave me soon after an account of it, the wholly unconscious pathos of which was, after all, the note that dominated the whole. Here was the pretty and picturesque railway station by which you arrived, and yonder were the tram-cars, and ranged in fixed and precise relation to one another along the broad and well-paved avenues were the workmen's cottages; and this was the ball-ground (on which nobody had been seen to play, for it was hedged about by many restrictions which discriminated sternly against the uncovenanted outsider); and yonder were the music-hall and the library and the reading-rooms, and all the rest of it—and oh, how dreary and stiff and regulated and mechanical it all was! "Did the people whom you met seem interested in meeting the founder?" I asked. "I could not tell," was the answer; "they all looked away when they saw him coming." What a volume of meaning in the words! This pros-

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perous manufacturer, by one or two clever inventions, finds himself, after a few years, a man of vast wealth, with a great multitude in one way or another dependent upon him. He feels, dimly, that he owes them something more than a mere wage. He knows something of the dreary conditions under which most of them live in a great and overcrowded city, and he sets about remedying them, as best he can, by creating his model village. But he brings to it the rule of a master, not of a brother. It is his, not theirs, even when he has turned it over to them to live in. His laws govern it. His tastes dominate it. His prejudices, which sometimes he mistakes for convictions, obtrude themselves at every step. And then, strangely enough, the people are not grateful! They are not even satisfied. There are complaints, and dissensions, and revolts against the rules, and by the time these have made themselves heard, he is tired and disgusted with the whole business, and clear only about one thing, and that is that the working man is an ungrateful grumbler. Ah, it is not so that you and I can serve him! First of all, we must realize what so few of us have even thought far enough to realize, and that is, that above all else the working man wants fair play; and that,

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too often, his employer is little likely greatly to concern himself about this unless the consumer shall compel him. And then we who are consumers must concern ourselves as to the methods by which that compulsion shall be brought to bear.

Legislation is one of these, and it has been invoked, sometimes wisely, and sometimes, as many people believe, most unwisely. "It is easy," say such persons, "to pass laws which shall compel an employer to construct his factory, or the homes of his working men, or to shorten their hours of work, in accordance with provisions which, while they greatly inure to the comfort or profit of the wage-earner, will ultimately impoverish the employer." It is said, and it is said with much truth, that in some States the burdens imposed by law upon employers are such as practically to crush out whole groups of industries. But it ought to be plain that the cause for this, oftener than it has been otherwise, has been an indifference on the part of the employer which has banded together the labor vote in a very frenzy of desperate resentment that has forced the hand of legislatures and precipitated the retribution of unreasonable enactments. Surely, somewhere between these

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two extremes there must be a just medium which it is possible for dispassionate minds to discover and then firmly to insist upon. And therefore, if we can persuade the consumer that mere cheapness is not the end of life, and that, after all, the well-being of a fellow-creature is more precious than a cheap "job-lot" upon a bargain counter, we shall have begun to enlist the force that, whatever may be the power of the law-maker, is, after all, the most powerful of all.

And that brings me, naturally, to speak of a force which already has made itself felt, and which is worthy of still wider employment. I mean what is known as the Consumers' League. There is, I do not forget, a difference of opinion as to the value of such leagues, even among those who are most seriously and earnestly concerned for the betterment of our present industrial system; and, that I may not seem to overlook such views, I will first quote what is urged against them by an authority whom I have already invoked, Mr. J. A. Hobson, and whose lectures were delivered before the London branch of the Christian Social Union: "In so far," says Mr. Hobson, "as the consumers who band themselves together to boycott certain shops and to give their custom to others are

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actuated by a charitable, self-denying motive, they must be regarded as persons who will buy in a dearer market when they could buy in a cheaper. An attempt is sometimes made to shirk this crucial test by suggesting that a Consumers' League merely induces its members to give preference to a good employer over a bad employer, both charging the same price for similar commodities, but the latter taking an illicit and excessive profit. This, however, is not a normal result; for where sweating goes on in a trade, competing 'sweaters' commonly drive down prices to a point at which a fair dealer can only with difficulty make a living. The normal use of a Consumers' League is to induce its members to abstain from buying goods at 'sweating' rates, in order to give the trade to a fair house. We must, therefore, rightly assume that its members are willing to buy dearer goods when they might buy cheaper, and that in some cases they will actually do so.

"Now I am far from disparaging," says Mr. Hobson, "the moral and educational value of such a movement. By teaching consumers to reflect upon the vital or mortal nature of the power they are by expenditure exerting over the lives of innumerable hidden workers, and by

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inducing some traders to recognize that the industrial functions which they exercise are fraught with distinct social and moral significance, they are engaged on an educational crusade of supreme importance. The organized action of a certain number of influential persons, consumers and producers, in a locality can sometimes mould a force of public opinion which will shame the 'sweater' into some compliance with decent conditions of employment, and may even break down bad 'customs of trade.' But, taking a general survey of the field of industry, we find no reason to suppose that these moral forces can achieve large results in the matter of direct economic reform. So long as the powerful economic forces of competition are coercing each manufacturer and trader, good-will and moral enlightenment among individuals cannot achieve much, nor can an amateur society of consumers, however skilfully managed, combat successfully the pressure of powerful trade interests."[1]

But this, if it is saying anything, is asserting that powerful trade interests "are more intrinsically or inherently powerful," than "good-will and moral enlightenment," which, in effect,

[1]Hobson, "The Social Problem," p. 139.

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is saying that selfishness is more powerful than the religion and the principles of Jesus Christ, which are the principles of unselfishness. For one, I do not believe it; and it is because the ideal of foregoing a present gain to one's self for a greater gain to another is the Christ-principle which is behind the whole idea of the Consumers' League that we are bound, as I believe, to regard it as a wise and timely instrument for a present industrial emergency.

For, after all, it must be owned, I think, that in the hands of the discriminating consumer rests finally the settlement of the gravest issues in the whole industrial problem. Upon the narrowest platform and upon the widest, alike, the substantial testimony of experience is one. The vast and expensive mechanisms which, in connection with trade and manufactures for the purpose of creating artificial wants, and for devising the clever and often apparently successful means for exploiting them, are, in the long run, an impressive testimony on this point. It is undoubtedly true that, by ingenious and more or less sensational advertising, you may for a time create a curiosity which shall absorb some clever novelty as rapidly as it can be produced; but the continued demand for it, any intelligent

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tradesman will tell you, depends upon its meeting a want or appealing to a distinct need. That need may not be at all a higher need; but, on the side of stimulus, recreation, nutriment, or solace, it must be a distinct need, and the thing that meets it must have for its purpose a real adaptation. One cannot, however, recognize that fact without being at once confronted with the question, *e. g.*, what are real needs, and what is a wise or right provision for them? It is at once the most unintelligent and inhuman view of them to say that they are, in the case of a working man any more than with you or me, only such provision as satisfies the craving for food and drink, for clothing, warmth, and shelter. These things we provide for our beasts of burden, in the interest of a wise economy of their physical powers in our service; and, if we ascended no higher, we are bound to do as much for the working man and woman. But these are not only beasts of burden: they are human beings, with powers, however imperfectly unfolded, capable of taking hold upon that upper realm in which are the joy of learning and the greater joy of knowing.

How, now, does the production of a vast proportion of what you and I consume, tend either

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directly or indirectly to the betterment of the condition of the working man and the enlargement of his mental horizon? I have already elsewhere given in brief a recent annual drink bill of this nation; but has it ever occurred to us to ask who are the producers of this ten hundred million dollars which is spent every year in this country for intoxicating drinks? Alas, it is the working man who produces them, and mainly the working man who consumes them; but he who is enriched by them and who therefore comes under the head of the consumer as we are now considering that term, is the stockholder in every brewery, every distillery, every saloon in the land, who is reaping the profits of this trade, consuming the interest on moneys invested in such business, and, alas! too often enriching himself at the cost of the bodies and souls of his fellow-men.

There are other instances which will at once occur to you which are not so extreme; but to any reflecting mind it ought to be plain that, in a very real sense, the question of consumption is the bottom question of all. I am constantly asked by people who resent the demand for a better wage for the working man, "What service can you render such an one by an increase

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in his earnings which he is sure to spend in luxuries? You have just been talking about the drink bill of the nation. Do you know how much of it is the drink bill of day-laborers? You insist that the working man shall have more margin in his system of expenditure than the narrow wage which barely gives him food and warmth and shelter. When he gets it, have you ever taken the trouble to notice the foolish and wanton extravagances in which he expends it—the cheap finery, the pinchbeck jewelry, the tawdry bedizenment with which his home and his wife and his children are disfigured? You would have him spend it in that which will improve his mind, safeguard his health, provide for his future. Well, he won't!"

Well, do you? Look at the modern American home in what we are wont to call its best estate. How overcrowded with the exhibitions of a hybrid taste, half imitation and half barbaric sensuousness, it is; how lacking in a fine and high-bred simplicity; how reeking with the lust of mere display; how hot and rancid, often, with the stench of mere cost, *cost,* COST, from end to end! And as of houses, so of persons. Said one friend to another enquiring after a third who had created a marked sensation at

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a great social function: "How did Mrs. So-and-so appear?" Said the person whom she addressed, "She appeared to be smeared with diamonds." "Oh," exclaimed the interrogator, referring to the rather strong term applied to her friend, "how very *coarse!*" "Yes," answered the first. "But I should rather describe such vulgar and prodigal display as not so much coarse as wanton." And she was right. For no one of us can indulge his own lust of ostentation or extravagance, whether it touches his person, his home, or his equipage, or any other form of expenditure, without setting in motion a whole series of influences which reach down, and down, and down, until it fires the fierce covetousness and inflames the undisciplined passions of that vast substratum upon which, after all, the peace and prosperity of the republic must forever rest. However much we may hate the fact, or hate to have any one remind us of the fact, the fact remains: "No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." As consumers of all or anything that enters into the usage and habit of a modern life, great or small, costly or cheap, necessary or ornamental, you and I are bound up with that vast network of producers which to-day spreads all round the

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world, from the tea-planters and silk-weavers and cotton-spinners of India or China or Japan to our own, and on whom, directly or indirectly, our expenditures, indulgences, luxuries, or comforts, and the demand for them, act and react to the last and remotest extremities.

And so we see our common calling. It is, if I have read it aright, a threefold relation of intelligence, of responsibility, and of sacrifice. The science which is known as political economy has been called the dismal science; and that branch of it which has undertaken to concern itself with the problems which in these lectures we have attempted to discuss has been called, by some in derision and by some in despair, the "occult science." It is neither. It has its inevitable obscurities,—most of all, I think, because some of the more difficult questions with which it is concerned, such as those of wages, hours of labor, the unearned increment, and the like, are, so to speak, questions which are yet *in transitu*. But on the whole, there are, certainly there are for you and me, broad principles of primal rights, of associated duty, of the obligations of trusteeship, whether of capital or brains, or of any other personal power, which Jesus Christ has not left in doubt. Their appli-

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cation to sociological questions has been challenged, I have no doubt honestly, by men by whom, whatever their personal attitude to Christ, his teachings are regarded, with reference to this whole subject, as visionary or irrelevant. But, since you and I know better than that, we must concern ourselves to make our practice square with our knowledge. It is the life and the teaching of this Elder Brother of the race that we must bring to bear, not only upon the relationships which I have here discussed, but upon all those others in which human society is bound together. It is the divorce of that life and teaching from the life of to-day, the social problems of to-day, the capitalist and working man of to-day, of which we are most of all in danger. The supreme vice of what is called commercialism—by which I suppose we may understand, in this connection at any rate, the hard dominance of certain laws of supply and demand, of production and profit, of the extension of markets rather than the extension of morals—is that it is without an *ideal*. "Business should concern itself," we are told, "with the real." Precisely; but what is the real? In what scales will you weigh it, with what yardstick will you measure it, in what packages will

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you export it? One sees the world's merchandise ranged along the wharves of our modern civilization, and stacked up in huge piles for transportation to foreign consumers, and sometimes, as one passes along, he notes such costly packages as marked with the word "Perishable." Tragic and prophetic inscription, both in one; for the question which the student of the future will have to answer will be the question how far a civilization built upon such foundations is, not some of it perishable, but *all* of it frail, foolish, and swiftly perished. And so I bid you to strive to hold up before the eyes of men the ideal of a life, not of great material gains, but of high, exalted aims: the aim of a fearless love of truth and then the fearless search for it; the aim of service and the aim of sacrifice. That great teacher and true prophet, —for us all too soon called up higher,—I mean the late Bishop of Durham, Brooke Foss Westcott, who passed on a little while ago to his reward, proposed to an assemblage to which he spoke one night in Westminster Abbey, the creation, in the interests of the practical solution of the problems which we have been now here discussing, of a fellowship of *Brethren and Sisters*

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of the Common Hope.[1] "That fellowship," he said, "must be social. Every member of it must hold himself pledged to regard his endowments of character, of power, of place, of wealth, as a trust to be administered with resolute and conscious purpose for the good of men: pledged to spread and deepen the sense of one life, one interest, one hope, one end, for all, in the household, in the factory, in the warehouse, in the council-room: pledged to strive, as he has the opportunity, to bring all things that are great and pure and beautiful within the reach of every fellow-worker: pledged to labor so that, to the full extent of his example and his influence, toil may be universally honored as service to the state, literature may be ennobled as the spring and not the substitute of thought, art (too often the minister of luxury) may be hallowed as the interpreter of the outward signs of God's working.

"All things are ready. . . . Look backward for the inspiring encouragement of experience. Look forward for the glorious assurance of hope. But look around you, without closing your ears to one bitter cry, or closing your eyes against one piteous sight, or refusing

[1] See "Social Aspects of Christianity," Lecture IV.

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thought to one stern problem, for your proper work, and then thankfully accept it in the name of God!"

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